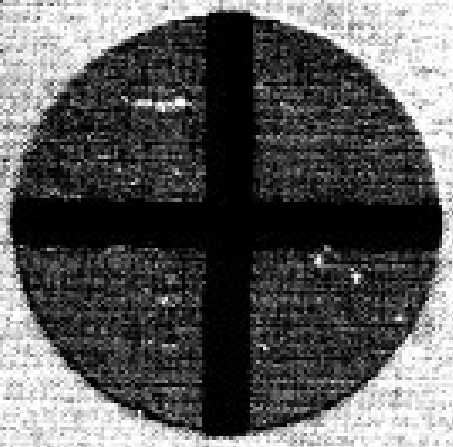
R. N. COUDENHOVE-KALERGI

PRAKTISCHER IDEALISMUS

ADEL — TECHNIK — PAZIFISMUS



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PAGE 5
FOREWORD Practical Idealism is heroism; practical materialism is eudaimonism. Whoever does not believe in ideals has no reason to act ideally; or to fight and suffer for ideals. For he knows and recognizes only a single value: pleasure; only a single evil: pain. Heroism presupposes belief and confession to the ideal: the conviction that there are higher values than pleasure and greater evils than pain. This opposition runs through the entire history of humanity; it is

the opposition of Epicureans and Stoics. This opposition is much deeper than that between theists and atheists: for there were Epicureans who believed in gods, like Epicurus himself; and there were idealists who were atheists like Buddha. It is therefore not about the belief in gods here — but about the belief in values. Materialism is more presuppositionless — but more unimaginative and uncreative; idealism is always problematic and often entangles itself in nonsense and madness: and yet humanity owes to it its greatest works and deeds.

Heroism is aristocracy of disposition. Heroism is as related to the aristocratic ideal as materialism is to the democratic.

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Also democracy believes more in number than in value, more in happiness than in greatness. Therefore political democracy can only become fruitful and creative when it smashes the pseudo-aristocracy of name and gold in order to give birth eternally anew in its place to a new aristocracy of spirit and disposition. The ultimate meaning of political democracy is therefore: spiritual aristocracy; it wants to create enjoyment for the materialist, power for the idealist. The leader shall take the place of the ruler — noble disposition the place of the noble name — the rich heart the place of the rich pocket. That is the meaning of the development that calls itself democratic. Any other meaning would be cultural suicide. Therefore it is no coincidence that Plato was at once the prophet of spiritual aristocracy and of socialist economy; and at once the father of the idealistic worldview. For both, aristocracy and socialism, are: practical idealism. The ascetic idealism of the South revealed itself as religion; the heroic idealism of the North as technology. For the nature of the North was a challenge to man. Other peoples submitted; the European accepted the challenge and fought. He fought until he was strong enough to subjugate the earth; he fought until he forced the very nature that had challenged him into his service. This struggle demanded heroism and begot heroism. Thus for Europe the hero became what the saint

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was for Asia; and hero-worship supplemented saint-worship. The active ideal took the place of the contemplative, and it was considered greater to fight for an ideal than to suffer. Europe has only fully grasped the meaning of this heroic world mission since modern times; for only with modern times does its technical age begin, its war of liberation against winter. This technical age is at the same time the age of work. The worker is the hero of our time; his opposite is not the citizen — but the parasite. The goal of the worker is — creation, of the parasite — enjoyment. Therefore technology is modern heroism and the worker is a practical idealist.

The political and social problem of the 20th century is: to catch up with the technical progress of the 19th. This demand of the age is made more difficult by the fact that the development of technology continues without pause at a faster pace than the development of man and humanity. This danger can either be averted by humanity slowing down technical progress, or by accelerating social progress. Otherwise it loses its balance and overturns itself. The World War was

a warning. Thus technology places man before the alternative: suicide or understanding! Therefore the development of the world in the coming decades will be without example. The present disproportion of technical

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and social organization will either lead to annihilating catastrophes — or to a political progress that in rapidity and thoroughness leaves all historical models behind and opens a new page in the history of humanity. Since technology shows new paths to human momentum and heroism, war begins to play out its historical role in the consciousness of humanity. Its heir is work. Humanity will one day organize itself in order to collectively wrest from the earth everything that it still withholds from it today. As soon as this view prevails, every war will be a civil war and every murder a murder. The age of war will then seem as barbaric as the age of cannibalism seems today. This development will come if we believe in it and fight for it; if we are neither so short-sighted as to lose sight of the great lines of development — nor so far-sighted as to overlook the practical paths and obstacles that lie between us and our goals; if we are clear-sighted and combine the clear knowledge of the impending struggles and difficulties with the heroic will to overcome them. Only this optimism of willing will supplement and defeat the pessimism of knowledge. Instead of persisting in the fetters of the unseasonable present and idly dreaming of better possibilities, let us therefore take active part in the development of the world through practical idealism. Vienna, November 1925.

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NOBILITY

1920 To the memory of my father
Dr. HEINRICH COUNT COUDENHOVE-KALERGI
in reverence and gratitude

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FIRST PART: OF THE RUSTIC AND URBAN MAN

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PAGE 13 COUNTRYMAN — CITYMAN

Country and city are the two poles of human existence. Country and city beget their particular human types: the rustic and the urban man. Rustic man and urban man are psychological antipodes. Peasants from the most diverse regions often resemble each other spiritually more than the city-dwellers of the neighboring metropolis. Between country and country, between city and city lies space — between city and country lies time. Among the European rustic men live representatives of all ages: from the Stone Age to the Middle Ages; while only the world-cities of the Occident, which have produced the most extreme urban type,

are representatives of modern civilization. Thus centuries, often millennia, separate a metropolis from the flat countryside that surrounds it. The urban man thinks differently, judges differently, feels differently, acts differently than the rustic man. Metropolitan life is abstract, mechanical, rational — rural life concrete, organic, irrational. The city-dweller is rationalistic, skeptical, unbelieving — the countryman emotionalistic, believing, superstitious.

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All thinking and feeling of the countryman crystallizes around nature; he lives in symbiosis with the animal, the living creature of God, is grown together with his landscape, dependent on weather and season. The crystallization point of the urban soul, on the other hand, is society; it lives in symbiosis with the machine, the dead creature of man; through it the city man makes himself as independent as possible of time and space, of season and climate. The countryman believes in the power of nature over man — the city man believes in the power of man over nature. The rustic man is a product of nature, the urban man a social product; the one sees purpose, measure and pinnacle of the world in the cosmos, the other in humanity. The rustic man is conservative like nature — the urban man progressive like society. All progress at all proceeds from cities and city-dwellers. The city man himself is usually the product of a revolution within a rural lineage that broke with its rustic tradition, moved to the metropolis and there began a life on a new basis. The metropolis robs its inhabitants of the enjoyment of natural beauty; as compensation it offers them art. Theaters, concerts, galleries are surrogates for the eternal and changing beauties of the landscape. After a day's work full of ugliness, those art institutes offer the city-dweller beauty in concentrated form. In the countryside they are easily dispensable. — Nature is the extensive, art the intensive manifestation of beauty. The relationship of the urban man to nature, which he

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lacks, is dominated by longing; while nature is constant fulfillment for the rustic man. Therefore the city-dweller perceives it predominantly romantically, the countryman classically. Social (Christian) morality is an urban phenomenon: for it is a function of human coexistence, of society. The typical city-dweller combines Christian morality with irreligious skepticism, rationalistic materialism and mechanistic atheism. The worldview that results from this is that of socialism: the modern metropolitan religion. For the rustic barbarian of Europe Christianity is hardly more than a new edition of paganism with changed mythology and new superstition; his true religion is belief in nature, in strength, in fate. City and country man do not know each other; therefore they mistrust and misunderstand each other and live in veiled or open enmity. There are many slogans under which this elementary opposition hides: Red and Green International; Industrialism and Agrarianism; Progress and Reaction; Judaism and Antisemitism. All cities draw their strength from the countryside; all countryside draws its culture from the city. The countryside is the soil from which the cities renew themselves; it is the source that feeds them; the root from which they bloom. Cities grow and die: the countryside is eternal.

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2. JUNKER — LITERATUS The blossom of the rustic man is the landed nobleman, the Junker. The blossom of the urban man is the intellectual, the literatus. Country and city have each begotten their specific noble type: will-aristocracy stands against spirit-aristocracy, blood-aristocracy against brain-aristocracy. The typical Junker combines a maximum of character with a minimum of intellect — the typical literatus a maximum of intellect with a minimum of character. Not always and everywhere did the landed nobility lack spirit, the city nobility character; as in modern England, in Germany in the age of the Minnesingers the blood-aristocracy was an outstanding cultural element; while on the other hand the Catholic spirit-aristocracy of the Jesuits and the Chinese spirit-aristocracy of the Mandarins in their heyday proved as much character as spirit. In the Junker and the literatus the opposites of the rustic and urban man culminate. Typical profession of the Junker caste is the officer's profession; typical profession of the literatus caste the journalist's profession.

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The Junker-officer remained, psychologically as well as intellectually, on the level of the knight. Hard against himself and others, dutiful, energetic, steadfast, conservative and limited, he lives in a world of dynastic, militaristic, national and social prejudices. With a deep mistrust of everything modern, of metropolis, democracy, socialism, internationalism he combines an equally deep belief in his blood, his honor and the worldview of his fathers. He despises the city-dweller, above all the Jewish literatus and journalist. The literatus hurries ahead of his time; without prejudice he represents modern ideas in politics, art, economy. He is progressive, skeptical, witty, versatile, changeable; he is eudaimonist, rationalist, socialist, materialist. He overestimates spirit, underestimates body and character: and therefore despises the Junker as a backward barbarian. Essence of the Junker is rigidity of will — essence of the literatus is mobility of spirit. Junker and literatus are born rivals and opponents: where the Junker caste rules, spirit must yield to force; in such reactionary times the political influence of the intellectuals is switched off or at least restricted. Where the literatus caste rules, force must yield to spirit: democracy triumphs over feudalism, socialism over militarism. The hatred of the will-aristocracy and the spirit-aristocracy of Germany against each other is rooted in misunderstanding. Each sees only the shadow sides of the other and is blind to its advantages. The psyche of the Junker, of the rustic man, remains eternally closed even to highly placed literati; while almost all

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Junkers the soul of the intellectual, of the urban man, remains foreign. Instead of learning from the other, the youngest lieutenant looks down with disdain on the leading spirits of modern literature, while the last back-alley journalist feels only superior contempt for outstanding officers. Through this double misunderstanding of foreign mentality the militaristic Germany first underestimated the resistance power of the urban masses against the war, then the revolutionary Germany underestimated the resistance power of the rustic masses against the revolution. The leaders of the countryside misjudged the psyche of the city and its inclination to pacifism — the leaders of the cities misjudged the psyche of the rural people and their inclination to reaction: thus

Germany first lost the war, then the revolution. The opposition of the Junker and the literatus is based on the fact that these two types are extremes, not pinnacles of blood- and spirit-aristocracy. For the highest manifestation of blood-aristocracy is the Grand-seigneur, of spirit-aristocracy the genius. These two aristocrats are not only compatible: they are related. Caesar, the perfection of the Grand-seigneur, was the most ingenious Roman; Goethe, the pinnacle of genius, was of all German poets the most Grand-seigneur. Here as everywhere the middle stages move farthest apart, while the pinnacles touch. The perfect aristocrat is at once aristocrat of will and of spirit, but neither Junker nor literatus. He combines far-sightedness with strength of will, judgment with energy of action, spirit with character. If such synthetic personalities are lacking, then the diverging

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aristocrats of will and of spirit should complement each other instead of fighting each other. In Egypt, India, Chaldea priests and kings (intellectuals and warriors) once ruled jointly. The priests bowed before the power of will, the kings before the power of spirit: brains pointed out the goals, arms cleared the paths.

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3. GENTLEMAN — BOHÈMIEN Blood- and spirit-aristocracy of Europe created their specific types: England's blood-aristocracy the Gentleman; France's spirit-aristocracy the Bohèmien. Gentleman and Bohèmien meet in the endeavor to escape the bleak ugliness of philistine existence: the Gentleman overcomes it through style, the Bohèmien through temperament. The Gentleman sets form against the formlessness of life — the Bohèmien sets color against the colorlessness of life. The Gentleman brings order into the disorder of human relationships — the Bohèmien brings freedom into their unfreedom. The beauty of the Gentleman-ideal rests on form, style, harmony: it is static, classical, Apollonian. The beauty of the Bohèmien-ideal rests on temperament, freedom, vitality: it is dynamic, romantic, Dionysian. The Gentleman idealizes and stylizes his wealth — the Bohèmien idealizes and stylizes his poverty. The Gentleman is based on tradition, the Bohèmien on protest: the essence of the Gentleman is conservative —

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the essence of the Bohèmien revolutionary. Mother of the Gentleman-ideal is England, the most conservative country in Europe — cradle of Bohemia is France, the most revolutionary country in Europe. The Gentleman-ideal is the life-form of a caste — the Bohème-ideal life-form of personalities. The Gentleman-ideal points beyond England back to the Roman Stoa — the Bohème-ideal points beyond France back to the Greek Agora. The Roman statesmen approached the Gentleman type, the Greek philosophers the Bohèmien type: Caesar and Seneca were Gentlemen, Socrates and Diogenes Bohèmiens. The center of gravity of the Gentleman lies in the physical-psychological — of the Bohèmien in the spiritual: the Gentleman may be a blockhead, the Bohèmien may be a criminal. Both ideals are human crystallization phenomena: just as the crystal can only form in an unstarry environment, so those two ideals owe their existence to English and French freedom. In imperial Germany this atmosphere

for personality crystallization was lacking: therefore it could develop no equivalent ideal. For the Gentleman the German lacked style, for the Bohèmien temperament, for both grace and suppleness. Since he found no life-form appropriate to him in his reality, the German sought in his poetry for ideal embodiments of German essence: and found as physical-psychological ideal the young Siegfried, as spiritual ideal the old Faust. Both ideals were romantic-untimely: in the distortion of reality the romantic

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Siegfried-Ideal to the Prussian officer, to the lieutenant — the romantic Faust-Ideal to the German scholar, to the professor. In place of organic ideals stepped mechanical ones: the officer represents the mechanization of the psychic: the petrified Siegfried; the professor the mechanization of the spiritual: the petrified Faust. Of none of its classes was Wilhelminian Germany prouder than of its officers and professors. In them it saw the blossom of the nation, as England in its political leaders, the Romance peoples in their artists. If the German people wants higher development, it must revise its ideals: its energy of action must burst the military one-sidedness and widen itself to politico-human versatility; its spirit must burst the purely scientific narrowness and widen itself to the synthesis of the poet-thinker. The nineteenth century has given the German people two men of the greatest style who embodied these demands of higher Germanness: Bismarck, the hero of deed; Goethe, the hero of spirit. Bismarck renews, deepens and animates the kitschily become Siegfried-Ideal — Goethe renews, deepens and animates the dusty Faust-Ideal. Bismarck had the good qualities of the German officer — without its faults; Goethe had the good qualities of the German scholar — without its faults. In Bismarck the superiority of the statesman overcomes the narrowness of the officer — in Goethe the superiority of the poet-thinker overcomes the narrowness of the scholar: in both the

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organic personality-ideal the mechanical, the man the marionette. Through his exemplary personality Bismarck has done more for the development of Germanness than through his founding of the Reich; through his Olympian existence Goethe has endowed the German people more richly than through his Faust: for Faust is, like Goetz, Werther, Meister and Tasso, only a fragment of Goethe's humanity. Germany should however beware of kitschifying and dragging down its two living models: to make a sergeant out of Bismarck, a schoolmaster out of Goethe. On the succession of these two pinnacles of German humanity Germany could grow and become healthy; from them it can learn active and contemplative greatness, energy of action and wisdom. For Bismarck and Goethe are the two focal points around which a new German life-style could form that would be equal to the Western ideals.

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4. INBREEDING — CROSSING Mostly the rustic man is an inbreeding product, the urban man a hybrid. Parents and ancestors of the peasant usually come from the same, thinly populated region; those of the noble from the same thin upper stratum. In both cases the forebears are blood-related to one another and

therefore mostly physically, psychically, spiritually similar to one another. Consequently they transmit their common traits, will-tendencies, passions, prejudices, inhibitions in heightened degree to their children and descendants. The character traits that result from this inbreeding are: loyalty, piety, family sense, caste spirit, constancy, stubbornness, energy, narrowness; power of prejudices, lack of objectivity, narrowness of horizon. Here one generation is not variation of the preceding, but simply its repetition: in place of development steps preservation. In the metropolis peoples, races, estates meet. As a rule the urban man is a hybrid from the most diverse social and national elements. In him the opposed character-traits,

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prejudices, inhibitions, will-tendencies and worldviews of his parents and forebears cancel one another out or at least weaken one another. The consequence is that hybrids frequently combine characterlessness, uninhibitedness, weakness of will, inconstancy, impiety and disloyalty with objectivity, versatility, spiritual liveliness, freedom from prejudices and breadth of horizon. Hybrids always differ from their parents and forebears; every generation is a variation of the preceding, either in the sense of evolution or of degeneration. The inbreeding man is one-soul-man — the hybrid multi-soul-man. In every individual his ancestors live on as elements of his soul: if they resemble one another, it is uniform, monotonous; if they strive apart, the man is manifold, complicated, differentiated. The greatness of a spirit lies in its extensiveness, that is in its ability to grasp and encompass everything; the greatness of a character lies in its intensity, that is in its ability to will strongly, concentratedly and constantly. Thus, in a certain sense, wisdom and energy of action are contradictions. The more pronounced the ability and inclination of a man to see things as a wise man from all sides and to place himself unprejudiced on every standpoint — the weaker usually is his will-impulse to act unhesitatingly in a certain direction: for to every motive counter-motives oppose themselves, to every belief skepticism, to every deed the insight into its cosmic insignificance. Energetic of action can only the narrow, the one-sided man be. There is however not only an unconscious,

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naive: there is also a conscious, heroic limitation. The heroically limited — and to this type belong all truly great men of action — temporarily voluntarily switches off all sides of his being, except the one that determines his deed. Objective, critical, skeptical, superior he can be before or after his deed: during the deed he is subjective, believing, one-sided, unjust. Wisdom hinders energy of action — energy of action disavows wisdom. The strongest will is ineffectual when it is directionless; even a weak will releases the strongest effect when it is one-sided. There is no life of deed without injustice, error, guilt: whoever shuns carrying this odium, let him remain in the realm of thought, of contemplation, of passivity. — True humans are always taciturn: for every assertion is, in a certain sense, lie; pure-hearted humans are always inactive: for every deed is, in a certain sense, injustice. Braver however it is to speak, at the risk of lying; to act, at the risk of doing injustice. Inbreeding strengthens character, weakens spirit — crossing weakens character, strengthens spirit. Where inbreeding and crossing meet

under happy auspices, they beget the highest human type, which combines strongest character with sharpest spirit. Where under unhappy auspices inbreeding and mixing meet, they create degeneration types with weak character, blunt spirit. The man of the distant future will be a hybrid. The present races and castes will fall victim to the increasing overcoming of space, time and prejudice. The Eurasian-Negroid future race, outwardly similar to the ancient Egyptian, will replace the multiplicity of peoples by a multiplicity of personalities. For according to the laws of heredity, with the diversity of ancestors grows the diversity, with the uniformity of ancestors the uniformity of descendants. In inbreeding families one child resembles the other: for all represent the one common family type. In hybrid families the children differ more strongly from one another: each forms a novel variation of the diverging parental and ancestral elements. Inbreeding creates characteristic types — crossing creates original personalities. Forerunner of the planetary man of the future is in modern Europe the Russian as Slavic-Tatar-Finnish hybrid; because he, among all European peoples, has the least race, he is the typical multi-soul-man with the wide, rich, all-embracing soul. His strongest antipode is the insular Briton, the highly bred one-soul-man, whose strength lies in character, in will, in the one-sided, typical. To him modern Europe owes the most closed, most perfected type: the Gentleman.

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5. PAGAN AND CHRISTIAN MENTALITY Two soul-forms wrestle for world dominion: paganism and Christianity. With the confessions that bear these names, those soul-forms have only very external relations. If the center of gravity is shifted from the dogmatic to the ethical, from the mythological to the psychological, Buddhism changes into ultra-Christianity, while Americanism appears as modernized paganism. The Orient is the main carrier of Christian, the Occident the main carrier of pagan mentality: the “pagan” Chinese are better Christians than the “Christian” Germans. Paganism places energy of action, Christianity love at the head of the ethical scale of values. Christian ideal is the loving saint, pagan ideal the victorious hero. Christianity wants to transform the homo ferus into a homo domesticus, the beast of prey man into the domestic animal man — while paganism wants to reshape man into the superman. Christianity wants to tame tigers into cats — paganism wants to raise cats into tigers. Main herald of modern Christianity was Tol-

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stoy; main herald of modern paganism Nietzsche. The Germanic Edda-religion was purest paganism. Under Christian mask it lived on: in the Middle Ages as chivalric, in modern times as imperialistic and militaristic worldview. Officers, Junkers, colonizers, industrial captains are the leading representatives of modern paganism. Energy of action, bravery, greatness, freedom, power, fame and honor: these are the ideals of paganism; while love, mildness, humility, compassion and self-denial are Christian ideals. The antithesis: paganism-Christianity coincides neither with the antithesis: rustic man-urban man, nor with: inbreeding-crossing. Undoubtedly however rustic barbarism and inbreeding favor the development of pagan, urban civilization and mixing the development of Christian mentality. Universally valid pagan individualism is

only possible in thinly populated regions of the earth, where the individual can assert himself and ruthlessly unfold, without immediately coming into opposition to his fellow humans. In overpopulated regions, where man collides with man, the socialist principle of mutual support must supplement and, in part, displace the individualistic principle of the struggle for existence. Christianity and socialism are international metropolitan products. Christianity as world religion took its departure from the raceless world-city Rome; socialism from the nationally mixed industrial cities of the Occident. Both expressions of Christian mentality are built on internationalism. The resistance against Christianity proceeded from the rural population

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(pagani); just as today it is also the rural people that opposes the strongest resistance to the realization of socialist life-form. Always were thinly populated, northern regions centers of pagan willing, densely populated southern regions breeding grounds of Christian feeling. Where today one speaks of the opposition of eastern and western soul-life, mostly nothing is understood by it than that opposition between men of the South and of the North. The Japanese, as the northernmost culture-Oriental, approaches in many ways the Occidental; while the mentality of the South Italian and South American is oriental. For the conditions of the soul the latitude seems more decisive than the longitude. Not only the geographical situation: also the historical development acts determiningly on the soul-form of a people. The Chinese as well as the Jewish people therefore feel more Christian than the Germanic, because their cultural past is older. The German stands temporally closer to the savage than the Chinese or Jew; these two old culture-peoples could emancipate themselves more thoroughly from the pagan-natural life-conception, because they had at least three millennia longer time for it. — Paganism is a symptom of cultural youth — Christianity a symptom of cultural age. Three peoples: Greeks, Romans, Jews have, each in its way, conquered the ancient cultural world. First the aesthetic-philosophical people of the Greeks: in Hellenism; then the practical-political people of the Romans: in the Imperium Romanum, finally the ethical-religious people of the Jews: in Christianity.

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Christianity, ethically prepared by Jewish Essenes (John), spiritually by Jewish Alexandrians (Philo), was regenerated Judaism. Insofar as Europe is Christian, it is (in the ethical-spiritual sense) Jewish; insofar as Europe is moral, it is Jewish. Almost the entire European ethics is rooted in Judaism. All pioneers of a religious or irreligious Christian morality, from Augustine to Rousseau, Kant and Tolstoy, were choice-Jews in the spiritual sense; Nietzsche is the only non-Jewish, the only pagan ethicist of Europe. The most prominent and most convinced representatives of Christian ideas, which in their modern rebirth are called pacifism and socialism, are Jews. In the East the Chinese people is the ethical par excellence (in contrast to the aesthetic-heroic Japanese and the religious-speculative Indians) — in the West the Jewish. God was head of state of the ancient Jews, their moral law civil code, sin was crime. The theocratic idea of the identification of politics and ethics Judaism has remained faithful through the change of millennia: Christianity and socialism are both attempts to establish a

kingdom of God. Two millennia ago the primitive Christians, not the Pharisees and Sadducees, were heirs and renewers of Mosaic tradition; today it is neither the Zionists nor the Christians, but the Jewish leaders of socialism: for they too want, with highest self-denial, to wipe out the original sin of capitalism, to redeem men from injustice, violence and servitude and to transform the atoned world into an earthly paradise.

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These Jewish prophets of the present, who prepare a new world epoch, have in everything the ethical as primary: in politics, religion, philosophy and art. From Moses to Weininger ethics was the main problem of Jewish philosophy. In this ethical basic attitude toward the world lies a root of the unique greatness of the Jewish people — at the same time however the danger that Jews who lose their belief in ethics sink down to cynical egoists: while men of other mentality even after loss of their ethical attitude still retain a wealth of chivalric values and prejudices (man of honor, gentleman, cavalier etc.) that protect them from the fall into value-chaos. What chiefly separates the Jews from the average city-dwellers is that they are inbreeding-men. Strength of character combined with sharpness of spirit predestines the Jew in his most outstanding exemplars to the leader of urban humanity, to the false as to the genuine spirit-aristocrat, to the protagonist of capitalism as of the revolution.

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SECOND PART: CRISIS OF THE NOBILITY

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6. SPIRIT-DOMINION INSTEAD OF SWORD-DOMINION Our democratic age is a wretched interlude between two great aristocratic epochs: the feudal aristocracy of the sword and the social aristocracy of the spirit. The feudal aristocracy is in decline, the spirit-aristocracy in becoming. The inter-time calls itself democratic, but in truth is dominated by the pseudo-aristocracy of money. In the Middle Ages in Europe the rustic knight ruled over the urban burgher, pagan mentality over Christian, blood-aristocracy over brain-aristocracy. The superiority of the knight over the burgher rested on bodily and character strength, on power and courage. Two inventions have conquered the Middle Ages, opened modern times: the invention of gunpowder meant the end of knight-rule, the invention of book-printing the dawn of spirit-rule. Bodily power and courage lost through the introduction of the firearm their decisive significance in the struggle for existence: spirit became, in the wrestling for power and freedom, the decisive weapon.

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Book-printing gave the spirit a means of power of unlimited range; moved the writing humanity into the center of the reading and thus raised the writer to the spiritual leader of the masses. Gutenberg has given the pens the power that Schwarz had taken from the swords. With the help of printer's ink Luther has conquered a greater realm than all German emperors. In the epoch of enlightened despotism rulers and statesmen obeyed the ideas that came from thinkers. The writers of that time formed a spiritual aristocracy of Europe. The victory of absolutism over feudalism meant the first victory of the city over the countryside and at the same time the first stage in the triumphal march of the spirit-aristocracy, in the fall of the sword-aristocracy. In place of the medieval dictatorship of the countryside over the city stepped the modern dictatorship of the city over the countryside. With the French Revolution, which broke with the privileges of the blood-aristocracy, began the second epoch of the emancipation of the spirit. Democracy rests on the optimistic presupposition that a spiritual nobility can be recognized and elected by the popular majority. Now we stand at the threshold of the third epoch of modern times: of socialism. It too supports itself on the urban class of industrial workers, led by the spiritual urban-aristocracy of revolutionary writers. The influence of the blood-aristocracy sinks, the influence of the spirit-aristocracy grows. This development, and with it the chaos of modern politics, will only then find an end when a spiritual

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aristocracy seizes the means of power of society: powder, gold, printer's ink and uses them for the blessing of the general public. A decisive stage toward this goal forms the Russian Bolshevism, where a small band of communist spirit-aristocrats rules the land and consciously breaks with the plutocratic democratism that today dominates the rest of the world. The struggle between capitalism and communism for the heritage of the defeated blood-aristocracy is a fratricidal war of the victorious brain-aristocracy, a struggle between individualistic and socialistic, egoistic and altruistic, pagan and Christian spirit. The general staff of both parties recruits itself from the spiritual leader-race of Europe: Judaism. Capitalism and communism are both rationalistic, both mechanistic, both abstract, both urban. The sword-aristocracy has definitively played out. The effect of the spirit, the power of the spirit, the belief in the spirit, the hope for the spirit grows: and with them a new nobility.

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7. NOBILITY-TWILIGHT In the course of modern times the blood-aristocracy was poisoned by the court-atmosphere, the spirit-aristocracy by capitalism. Since the end of the knight-time the high nobility of continental Europe, with sparse exceptions, finds itself in the state of progressive decadence. Through its urbanization it has lost its physical and psychic advantages. At the time of feudalism the blood-aristocracy was called to protect its land against attacks of the enemy and encroachments of the ruler. The nobleman was free and self-conscious toward subordinates, equals, superiors; king on his landed property, he could freely unfold his personality according to chivalric principles. Absolutism changed this situation: the oppositional nobility, which, free, proud and brave, insisted on its historical rights, was, as far as possible, exterminated; the rest was drawn to the court and there forced into a splendid servitude. This

court-nobility was unfree, dependent on the whims of the ruler and his camarilla; thus it had to lose its best qualities:

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character, urge for freedom, pride, leadership. To break the character and with it the power of resistance of the French nobility, Louis XIV lured it to Versailles; the great Revolution remained reserved the completion of his work: it has taken from the nobility, which had given up and lost its advantages, its obsolete privileges. Only in those countries of Europe where the nobility, faithful to its chivalric mission, remained leader and champion of the national opposition against monarchical despotism and foreign rule, an aristocratic leader-type preserved itself: in England, Hungary, Poland, Italy. Since the transformation of European culture from a chivalric-rustic into a burgher-urban one the blood-aristocracy remained behind the bourgeoisie in spiritual-cultural respect. War, politics and the administration of its estates occupied it so much that its spiritual abilities and interests frequently withered. These historical causes of modern nobility-twilight were still strengthened by physiological ones. In place of the hard, medieval war-service modern times brought the nobility mostly workless comfortable living; from the most threatened estate the nobility through its inherited wealth gradually became the most secured; to this came still the degenerative influences of exaggerated inbreeding, from which the English nobility escaped through frequent mixing with burgher blood. Through the cooperation of these circumstances the physical, psychic and spiritual type of the former nobility declined. The brain-aristocracy could not replace the blood-aristocracy, because it too finds itself in a crisis, in a state of decay.

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Democracy arose out of embarrassment: not because the people wanted no nobility, but because they found no nobility. As soon as a new, genuine nobility constitutes itself, democracy will disappear of itself. Because England possesses genuine nobility, it remained, despite its democratic constitution, aristocratic. The academic brain-aristocracy of Germany, a century ago leader of the opposition against absolutism and feudalism, champion of modern and liberal ideas, has today sunk down to the main support of reaction, to the main opponent of spiritual and political renewal. This pseudo-spirit-aristocracy of Germany was in the war advocate of militarism, in the revolution defender of capitalism. Its watchwords: nationalism, militarism, antisemitism, alcoholism, are at the same time the watchwords in the struggle against the spirit. Its responsible mission: to replace the feudal nobility and to prepare the spirit-aristocracy, the academic intelligence has misunderstood, disavowed, betrayed. Also the journalistic intelligence has betrayed its leader-mission. It, which was called to become spiritual leader and teacher of the masses, to supplement and improve what a backward school-system has neglected and spoiled — has in its enormous majority degraded itself to the slave of capital, to the corrupter of political and artistic taste. Its character broke under the compulsion, instead of its own convictions to represent and defend foreign ones — its spirit flattened through the overproduction to which its profession forces it. Like the rhetor of antiquity, so stands the journalist of the

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modern times in the center of the state-machine: he moves the voters, the voters the deputies, the deputies the ministers. Thus to the journalist falls the highest responsibility for all political events: and precisely he, as typical representative of urban characterlessness, mostly feels himself free from every obligation and responsibility. School and press are the two points from which the world could renew and ennoble itself bloodlessly, without violence. The school nourishes or poisons the soul of the child; the press nourishes or poisons the soul of the adult. School and press are today both in the hands of an unspiritual intelligence: to lay them back into the hands of the spirit would be the highest task of every ideal politics, every ideal revolution. The ruling dynasties of Europe have come down through inbreeding; the plutocrat-dynasties through comfortable living. The blood-aristocracy decayed because it became servant of the monarchy; the spirit-aristocracy decayed because it became servant of capital. Both aristocracies had forgotten that with every advantage, with every distinction and exceptional position responsibility is connected. They have unlearned the motto of all true nobility: “Noblesse oblige!” They wanted to enjoy the fruits of their preferential position without bearing its duties; felt themselves as masters and superiors, not as leaders and models of their fellow-men. Instead of showing the people new goals, clearing new paths, they let themselves be misused by rulers and capitalists as tools of their interests: for comfortable living, honors and money they sold their souls, their blood and their brain.

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The old nobility of blood and of brain has lost the claim to count further as aristocracy; for it lacks the signs of all genuine nobility: character, freedom, responsibility. The threads that connected them with their peoples they have cut: through caste conceit on the one side, education-conceit on the other side. It lies in the sense of historical nemesis that the great flood that takes its departure from Russia, on bloody or bloodless path cleanses the world of the usurpers who want to maintain their preferential positions while they long ago have lost their former presuppositions.

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8. PLUTOCRACY At the low level of the blood- and spirit-aristocracy it was not to be wondered that a third class of men provisionally seized power: the plutocracy. The constitutional form that replaced feudalism and absolutism was democratic; the form of rule plutocratic. Today democracy is facade of plutocracy: because the peoples would not tolerate naked plutocracy, they are left the nominal power, while the factual power rests in the hands of the plutocrats. In republican as in monarchical democracies the statesmen are marionettes, the capitalists wire-pullers: they dictate the guidelines of politics, they dominate through purchase of public opinion the voters, through business and social relations the ministers. In place of the feudal social structure has stepped the plutocratic: no longer birth is decisive for the social position, but income. The plutocracy of today is more powerful than the aristocracy of yesterday: for no one stands above it except the state, which is its tool and helper. As long as there was still true blood-aristocracy, the system of the

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birth-aristocracy was more just than today that of the money-aristocracy: for then the ruling caste had feeling of responsibility, culture, tradition — while the class that today rules is devoid of all feeling of responsibility, of all culture and tradition. Isolated exceptions change nothing in this fact. While the worldview of feudalism was heroic-religious, the plutocratic society knows no higher values than money and comfortable living: the standing of a man is taxed according to what he has, not according to what he is. Nevertheless the leaders of the plutocracy in a certain sense form an aristocracy, a selection: for to the acquisition of great fortunes a series of outstanding qualities is necessary: energy of action, circumspection, prudence, level-headedness, presence of mind, initiative, daring and generosity. Through these advantages the successful big entrepreneurs legitimize themselves as modern conqueror-natures, whose superior will- and spirit-power brought them victory over the mass of inferior competitors. This superiority of the plutocrats however holds only within the acquiring class of men — it disappears immediately when those outstanding money-earners are measured against the outstanding representatives of ideal professions. It is therefore just that a capable industrialist or merchant rises materially and socially higher than his incapable colleagues — unjust however it is that his social power and standing is higher than that of an artist, scholar, politician, writer, teacher, judge, doctor who in his profession is as capable as the former, whose abilities however serve more ideal and more social goals.

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that thus the present social system rewards the egoistic-materialistic mentality over an altruistic-ideal one. In this preferential treatment of egoistic capability over altruistic, materialistic over idealistic lies the basic evil of the capitalistic social structure; while the true aristocrats of spirit and heart: the wise and the kind, live in poverty and powerlessness, egoistic men of violence usurp the leader-position to which those would be called. Thus plutocracy is in energetic and intellectual respect aristocracy — in ethical and spiritual relation pseudo-aristocracy; within the earning classes aristocracy — measured against more ideal professions pseudo-aristocracy. Like the aristocracy of blood and of spirit, so also that of money finds itself at present in a period of decay. The sons and grandsons of those great entrepreneurs, whose will, hardened by need and work, had raised them from nothing to power, mostly slacken in comfortable living and inactivity. Only rarely does the paternal capability transmit itself or sublimates itself to more spiritual and more ideal creation. The plutocrat-families lack that tradition and worldview, that conservative-rustic spirit that once had preserved the noble families for centuries from degeneration. Weak epigones take over the power-heritage of their fathers without the gifts of will and understanding through which it had been acquired. Power and capability come into contradiction: and thus undermine the inner justification of capitalism. The historical development has accelerated this natural

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decay. Carried up by the boom of the war, a new profiteer-plutocracy begins to decompose and displace the old entrepreneur-plutocracy. While with the enrichment of the entrepreneur the national welfare grows, it sinks with the

enrichment of the profiteer. The entrepreneurs are leaders of the economy — the profiteers its parasites: entrepreneurship is productive — profiteerdom unproductive capitalism. The present boom facilitates unscrupulous, uninhibited and conscienceless men the money-acquisition. For speculation- and profiteer-profits luck and ruthlessness are more indispensable than outstanding gifts of will and understanding. Thus the modern profiteer-plutocracy represents rather a kakistocracy of character than an aristocracy of capability. Through the increasing blurring of the boundaries between entrepreneurship and profiteerdom capitalism is compromised and pulled down before the forum of spirit and of the public. No aristocracy can permanently maintain itself without moral authority. As soon as the ruling class ceases to be symbol of ethical and aesthetic values, its fall becomes unstoppable. The plutocracy is, measured against other aristocracies, poor in aesthetic values. It fulfills the political functions of an aristocracy without offering the cultural values of a nobility. Wealth however is only bearable in the garment of beauty, only justified as carrier of an aesthetic culture. Meanwhile the new plutocracy wraps itself in bleak tastelessness and

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obtrusive ugliness: its wealth becomes unfruitful and repulsive. The European plutocracy neglects — in contrast to the American — its ethical mission as much as its aesthetic: social benefactors of great style are as sparse as patrons. Instead of seeing its purpose of existence in social capitalism, in the summarization of the splintered national wealth to generous works of creative humanity — the plutocrats in their overwhelming majority feel justified to build their comfortable living irresponsibly on mass-misery. Instead of trustees of humanity they are exploiters, instead of leaders misleaders. Through this lack of aesthetic and ethical culture the plutocracy draws to itself not only the hatred but also the contempt of public opinion and its spiritual leaders: since it did not understand how to become nobility, it must fall. The Russian Revolution means for the plutocratic epoch of history the beginning of the end. Even if Lenin succumbs, his shadow will dominate the twentieth century just as the French Revolution despite its collapse has determined the development of the nineteenth: never would feudalism and absolutism in continental Europe have abdicated voluntarily — if not out of fear of a repetition of Jacobin terror, of the end of the French nobility and kings. Thus the sword of Damocles of Bolshevist terror will more quickly succeed in softening the hearts of the plutocrats and making them accessible to social demands than in two millennia the gospel of Christ.

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9. BLOOD-NOBILITY AND FUTURE-NOBILITY Nobility rests on physical, psychic, spiritual beauty; beauty on perfected harmony and heightened vitality: whoever in this towers above his fellow-world is aristocrat. The old aristocratic type is dying out; the new not yet constituted. Our inter-time is beggar-poor in great personalities: in beautiful men; in noble men; in wise men. Meanwhile epigones of the sunken nobility usurp the dead forms of former aristocracy and fill them with the content of their wretched burgherliness. The strong fullness of life of former nobility has passed over to upstarts: yet they lack its forms, its nobility, its beauty. Nevertheless the time need not despair of the idea of nobility, of the

future of a nobility. If humanity wants to advance, it needs leaders, teachers, signposts; fulfillments of what it wants to become; forerunners of its future elevation into higher spheres. Without nobility no evolution. Eudaimonistic politics can be democratic — evolutionistic politics must be aristocratic. To

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rise, to advance goals are necessary; to reach goals men are necessary who set goals, lead to goals: aristocrats. The aristocrat as leader is a political concept; the nobleman as model is an aesthetic ideal. Highest demand requires that aristocracy coincide with nobility, leader with model: that to perfected men falls the leadership. From the European quantity-humanity, which believes only in number, in the mass, two quality-races stand out: blood-nobility and Judaism. Separated from each other, both hold firmly to the belief in their higher mission, in their better blood, in human rank-differences. In these two heterogeneous preferential races lies the core of the European future-nobility: in the feudal blood-nobility, insofar as it did not let itself be corrupted by the court, in the Jewish brain-nobility, insofar as it did not let itself be corrupted by capital. As guarantee of a better future remains a small remnant of morally high-standing rustic-nobility and a small combat-group of revolutionary intelligence. Here grows the community between Lenin, the man from rural petty-nobility, and Trotsky, the Jewish literatus, to symbol: here the opposites of character and spirit, of Junker and literatus, of rustic and urban, pagan and Christian man reconcile to the creative synthesis of revolutionary aristocracy. A step forward in the spiritual would suffice to place the best elements of the blood-nobility, which on the land have preserved their physical and moral health before the depraving influences of the court-air, in the service of the new liberation of man. For to this stance predestines them their

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traditional courage, their anti-burgher and anti-capitalistic mentality, their feeling of responsibility, their contempt of material advantage, their stoic will-training, their integrity, their idealism. Directed into more spiritual and freer paths, the strong noble energies, which hitherto were supports of reaction, could regenerate to new blossom and beget leader-natures that combine unbendability of will with greatness of soul and selflessness; and, instead of serving as exponents of the bourgeoisie (which is inwardly repugnant to them) capitalistic interests, step into a row with the representatives of the rejuvenated spirit-aristocracy for the liberation and ennobling of humanity. Politics was in Europe for centuries nobility-privilege. The high nobility formed an international political caste in which diplomatic talents were bred. For many generations the European blood-nobility lives in a political atmosphere from which the bourgeoisie was intentionally kept away. On its latifundia the nobility learned the art of governing, of treating men — on the leading state-posts at home and abroad the art of treating peoples. Politics is art, not science; its center of gravity lies more in instinct than in understanding, more in the subconscious than in the conscious. Political talent can be awakened and trained, never learned. Genius breaks through all rules: but in political talents the nobility is richer than the bourgeoisie. For to acquire knowledge one life suffices: to breed instincts the cooperation of many generations is needed. In the sciences and fine arts the

bourgeoisie surpasses the nobility in talent: in politics the relation is reversed. Therefore

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it comes that also the democracies of Europe entrust their foreign policy frequently to descendants of their high nobility, for it lies in the state interest to make the hereditary mass of political talent, which the nobility has accumulated in the course of the centuries, useful to the general public. The political abilities of the high nobility are not least due to its strong blood-mixing. For this national race-mixing often widens its horizon and thus paralyzes the evil consequences of simultaneous caste-inbreeding. The great majority of inferior aristocrats combine the disadvantages of mixing with those of inbreeding: characterlessness with spiritual poverty; while in the rare high points of modern high nobility the advantages of both meet: character with spirit. In intellectual respect there gapes today between the extreme right (conservative blood-nobility) and the extreme left (revolutionary spirit-nobility) a tremendous level difference, while in character these apparent extremes touch. But everything intellectual, conscious lies on the surface — everything characteristic, unconscious in the depth of the personality. Insights and opinions are easier to form and reshape than character traits and will-directions. Lenin and Ludendorff are in their political ideals antagonists: in their will-attitude brothers. If Ludendorff had grown up in the revolutionary milieu of Russian studentdom; if he, like Lenin, had experienced in early youth the execution of his brother by imperial hangmen: we would, probably, see him at the head of red Russia. While

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Lenin, raised in a Prussian cadet school, perhaps would have become an over-Ludendorff. What separates these two related natures is their spiritual level. Lenin's narrowness seems heroic-conscious, Ludendorff's narrowness naive-unconscious. Lenin is not merely leader — he is also spiritual; so to speak a spiritualized Ludendorff. The same parallel can be drawn between two other representatives of the extreme left and right: Friedrich Adler and Count Arco. Both were murderers out of idealism, martyrs of their conviction. If Adler had grown up in the militaristic-reactionary milieu of German blood-nobility, Arco in the socialistic-revolutionary milieu of Austrian spirit-nobility — then, probably, Arco's bullet would have hit Prime Minister Stürgkh, Adler's bullet Prime Minister Eisner. For they too are brothers, separated by the difference of instilled prejudices, connected by the commonality of heroic-selfless character. Here too the difference lies in the spiritual level (Adler is a man of spirit), not in the purity of disposition. Whoever praises the character of the one may not disparage that of the other — as happens daily from both sides. Where potentiated life-force is, there is future. The blossom of the peasantry, the landed nobility, has (insofar as it preserved itself healthy) in thousand-year symbiosis with the living and life-giving nature accumulated and stored a fullness of vital forces. If a modern education succeeds in sublimating a part of these heightened life-energies into the spiritual: then, perhaps, the nobility of the past could take decisive part in the building of the nobility of the future.

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10. JUDAISM AND FUTURE-NOBILITY Main carriers of the corrupt as of the integral brain-nobility: of capitalism, journalism and literati-dom, are Jews*. The superiority of their spirit predestines them to a main factor of future nobility. A glance into the history of the Jewish people explains its lead in the struggle for the leadership of humanity. Two millennia ago Judaism was a religious community, composed of ethically-religiously disposed individuals of all nations of the ancient cultural circle, with a national-Hebrew center in Palestine. At that time already the common, connecting and primary was not the nation, but the religion. In the course of the first millennium of our era proselytes from all peoples entered this faith-community, lastly king, nobility and people of the Mongolian Chazars, the lords of South Russia. From then on first the Jewish religious community closed itself into an artificial people- The following refers primarily to Central and Eastern Europe.

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community and against all other peoples*. Through unspeakable persecutions Christian Europe has tried for a millennium to exterminate the Jewish people. The success was that all Jews who were weak-willed, unscrupulous, opportunistic or skeptical had themselves baptized in order thereby to escape the torments of endless persecution. On the other hand, under these often aggravated living conditions all Jews perished who were not skillful, clever and inventive enough to master the struggle for existence in this most difficult form. Thus finally from all these persecutions a small community emerged, steeled by a heroically borne martyrdom for the idea and purified from all weak-willed and spiritually poor elements. Instead of destroying Judaism, Europe has against its will through that artificial selection-process ennobled it and educated it to a leading nation of the future. No wonder then that this people, sprung from the ghetto-prison, has developed into a spiritual nobility of Europe. Thus a kind providence has gifted Europe, at the moment when the feudal nobility declined, through the Jewish emancipation a new nobility-race of spirit's grace. The first typical representative of this emerging future-nobility was the revolutionary noble-Jew Lassalle, who in high measure united beauty of the body with nobility of character and sharpness of spirit: aristocrat in the highest and truest sense of the word, he was a born leader and signpost of his time. See: "The Essence of Antisemitism" by Dr. Heinrich Count Coudenhove-Kalergi (II. Edition, Paneuropa-Verlag, Vienna).

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Not: Judaism is the new nobility; but: Judaism is the womb from which a new, spiritual nobility of Europe proceeds; the core around which a new, spiritual nobility groups itself. A spiritual-urban master-race is in formation: idealists, spiritually rich and fine-nerved, just and conviction-true, brave as the feudal nobility in its best days, who joyfully take upon themselves death and persecution, hatred and contempt, in order to make humanity more moral, more spiritual, happier. The Jewish heroes and martyrs of the East and Central European revolution stand in nothing behind the non-Jewish heroes of the World War in courage, endurance and idealism — while they often surpass them in spirit. The essence of these men and women, who attempt to redeem and regenerate humanity, is a peculiar synthesis of religious and political elements:

of heroic martyrdom and spiritual propaganda, revolutionary energy of action and social love, of justice and compassion. These essential traits, which once made them creators of the Christian world-movement, today place them at the head of the socialist. With these two redemption-attempts of spiritual-moral origin Judaism has gifted the disinherited masses of Europe richer than any other people. As indeed also modern Judaism through its percentage of significant men surpasses all other peoples: scarcely a century after its liberation this small people today stands with Einstein at the head of modern science; with Mahler at the head of modern music; with Bergson at the head of modern philosophy; with Trotsky at the head of

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modern politics. The prominent position that Judaism holds today it owes solely to its spiritual superiority, which enables it to triumph in the spiritual competition over an enormous superiority of privileged, hateful, envious rivals. Modern antisemitism is one of the many reaction-phenomena of the mediocre against the outstanding; is a modern form of ostracism, applied against an entire people. As a people Judaism experiences the eternal struggle of quantity against quality, inferior groups against higher-value individuals, inferior majorities against higher-value minorities. The main roots of antisemitism are narrowness and envy: narrowness in the religious or in the scientific; envy in the spiritual or in the economic. By the fact that they proceeded from an international religious community, not from a local race, the Jews are the people of the strongest blood-mixing; by the fact that they have closed themselves for a millennium against the other peoples, they are the people of strongest inbreeding. Thus the chosen among them, like with the high nobility, combine strength of will with sharpness of spirit, while another part of the Jews combines the defects of inbreeding with the defects of blood-mixing: characterlessness with narrowness. Here one finds holiest self-sacrifice next to narrowest selfishness, purest idealism next to crassest materialism. Here too the rule confirms itself: the more mixed a people, the more dissimilar are its representatives to one another, the more impossible it is to construct a unity-type.

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Where much light, there is much shadow. Genial families show a higher percentage of insane and criminals than mediocre; that applies also to peoples. Not only the revolutionary spirit-aristocracy of tomorrow — also the plutocratic profiteer-kakistocracy of today recruits itself primarily from Jews: and thus sharpens the agitatorial weapons of antisemitism. Thousand-year slavery has, with rare exceptions, taken from the Jews the gesture of the master-man. Permanent suppression hinders personality-development: and thereby removes a main element of the aesthetic nobility-ideal. A large part of Judaism suffers from this lack, physically as well as psychically; this lack is the main cause that the European instinct resists recognizing Judaism as a nobility-race. The ressentiment with which suppression has burdened Judaism gives it much vital tension; takes from it much noble harmony in return. Exaggerated inbreeding, combined with the hyper-urbanity of the ghetto-past, had as consequence many traits of physical and psychic decadence. What the head of the Jews gained, their body often lost; what their brain gained, their nervous system lost. Thus Judaism

suffers from a hypertrophy of the brain and thus places itself in opposition to the noble demand of harmonious personality-development. The physical and nervous weakness of many spiritually outstanding Jews produces a lack of physical courage (often in connection with highest moral courage) and an insecurity of appearance: properties that

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still today appear incompatible with the chivalric ideal of the nobility-man. Thus the spiritual master-people of the Jews suffers under traits of the slave-man that its historical development has imprinted on it: still today many Jewish leader-personalities bear the bearing and gesture of the unfree, suppressed man. In their gestures downfallen aristocrats are often more noble than outstanding Jews. These defects of Judaism, arisen through development, will disappear again through development. The rusticalization of Judaism (a main goal of Zionism), combined with athletic education, will free Judaism from the ghetto-rest that it still carries in itself today. That this is possible is proven by the development of American Judaism. To the factual freedom and power that Judaism has achieved, the consciousness of the same will gradually follow, the consciousness of the bearing and gesture of the free, powerful man. Not only Judaism will transform itself in the direction of the Western nobility-ideal — also the Western nobility-ideal will experience a transformation that meets Judaism halfway. In a more peaceful Europe of the future the nobility will cast off its warlike character and exchange it for a spiritual-priestly one. A pacified and socialized Occident will no longer need masters and rulers — only leaders, educators, models. In an oriental Europe the future-aristocrat will resemble more a Brahman and Mandarin than a knight.

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OUTLOOK The nobility-man of the future will be neither feudal nor Jewish, neither bourgeois nor proletarian: he will be synthetic. The races and classes in today's sense will disappear, the personalities remain. Only through connection with the best bourgeois blood will the developable elements of former feudal nobility rise to new blossom; only through union with the pinnacles of non-Jewish Europeanness will the Jewish element of the future-nobility come to full unfolding. The chosen men of the future may a physically highly bred rustic-nobility gift perfected bodies and gestures, a spiritually highly educated urban-nobility spiritualized physiognomies, soul-filled eyes and hands. The nobility of the past was built on quantity: the feudal on the number of ancestors; the plutocratic on the number of millions. The nobility of the future will rest on quality: on personal value, personal perfection; on perfection of the body, the soul, the spirit. Today, on the threshold of a new age, in place of the former hereditary-nobility steps a chance-nobility;

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instead of nobility-races noble individuals: men whose accidental blood-composition raises them to exemplary types. From this chance-nobility of today the new international and intersocial nobility-race of tomorrow will proceed. All outstanding in beauty, strength, energy and spirit will recognize and join together according to the secret laws of erotic attraction. Once the artificial

barriers that feudalism and capitalism have erected between men have fallen — then automatically the most significant men will fall the most beautiful women, the most outstanding women the most perfected men. The more perfect then in the physical, psychic, spiritual a man will be — the greater the number of women among whom he will be able to choose. Only the noblest men will have the connection with the noblest women free and vice versa — the inferior will have to content themselves with the inferior. Then the erotic life-form of the inferior and mediocre will be free love, of the chosen: free marriage. Thus the new breeding-nobility of the future will not proceed from the artificial norms of human caste-formation, but from the divine laws of erotic eugenics. The natural rank-order of human perfection will take the place of the artificial rank-order: of feudalism and capitalism. Socialism, which began with the abolition of the nobility, with the leveling of humanity, will culminate in the breeding of the nobility, in the differentiation of humanity. Here, in social eugenics, lies

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its highest historical mission, which it does not yet recognize today: from unjust inequality over equality to just inequality, over the ruins of all pseudo-aristocracy to genuine, new nobility.

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APOLOGY OF TECHNOLOGY 1922 Motto: Ethics is the soul of our culture — Technology its body: mens sana in corpore sano!

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I. THE LOST PARADISE THE CURSE OF CULTURE

Culture has transformed Europe into a penitentiary and the majority of its inhabitants into forced laborers. — The modern culture-man leads a more miserable life than all animals of the wilderness: the only beings who are even more pitiable than he are his domestic animals — because they are even more unfree. The existence of a buffalo in the primeval forest, of a condor in the Andes, of a shark in the ocean is incomparably more beautiful, freer and happier than that of a European factory worker who, day after day, hour after hour chained to his machine, must perform inorganic manipulations in order not to starve. Also man was once in prehistoric times a happy being: a happy animal. Then he lived in freedom, as part of a tropical nature that nourished and warmed him. His life consisted in the satisfaction of his drives; he enjoyed it until a natural or violent death struck him. He was free; lived in nature — instead of in the state; played — instead of working: therefore he was beautiful and happy. His life-courage and his life-

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joy were stronger than all pains that struck him and than all dangers that threatened him. In the course of the millennia man has lost this precious, free existence. The European, who holds himself for the pinnacle of civilization, lives in unnatural and ugly cities an unnatural, ugly, unfree, unhealthy, inorganic life. With stunted instincts and weakened health he breathes in gloomy rooms spoiled air; the organized society, the state, robs him of every movement- and action-freedom, while a rough climate forces him to lifelong work. The freedom that he once possessed, man has lost: and with it happiness. — UNFOLDING AND FREEDOM

The ultimate goal of all earthly existence is unfolding: the stone wants to crystallize, the plant to grow and bloom, the animal and man to live themselves out. The pleasure that is known only to men and animals has no own but only symptomatic value: the animal does not satisfy its instincts because it feels pleasure thereby — but it feels pleasure because it satisfies its instincts. Unfolding means growth according to the laws of one's own inner: growth in freedom. Every external pressure and compulsion hinders the freedom of unfolding. In a determined world freedom has no other meaning than: dependence on inner laws, while unfreedom means: dependence on external circumstances. The crystal does not have the freedom to choose any stereometric shape for itself

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: the bud does not have the freedom to unfold into any flower: but the freedom of the stone consists in that it becomes a crystal, the freedom of the bud that it becomes a flower. The unfree stone remains amorphous or crystalline — the unfree flower withers. In both cases the external compulsion is stronger than the inner force. — The product of human freedom is the unfolded man; the product of human unfreedom: the withered man. Because the free man can unfold, he is beautiful and happy. The free, unfolded man is the goal of all development and the measure of all human values. Man has lost his former freedom: that was his fall into sin. Thus he became an unhappy, imperfect creature. All wild animals are beautiful — while most men are ugly. There are many more perfect tigers, elephants, eagles, fish, insects than men: for man is, through loss of his freedom, withered and degenerated. The legend of the lost paradise of prehistoric times proclaims the truth that man is an exile from the realm of freedom, of leisure and of natural life, in which today still the fauna of the primeval forest lives and to which, among today's men, some South Sea islanders still stand closest. The lost paradise is the time of human animal-existence in the tropics, when there were still no cities, no states and no work. —

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3. OVERPOPULATION AND NORTH-WANDER Two things have driven man from his paradise: overpopulation and the migration into colder zones. — Through overpopulation man has lost the freedom of space: everywhere he collides with his fellow-men and their interests — thus he became the slave of society. Through the emigration to the north man has lost the freedom of time: leisure. For the rough climate forces him to involuntary work in order to sustain his life: thus he became the slave of northern nature. Culture has destroyed the three

forms of beauty that transfigured the existence of the nature-man: freedom, leisure, nature; in their place it has set the state, work and the city. The culture-European is an exile of the south, an exile of nature. — SOCIETY AND CLIMATE

The two tyrants of the culture-European are called: society and climate. The social unfreedom reaches its high point in the modern metropolis, because here crowding and overpopulation are greatest. There men live not only next to one another, but layered over one another, walled into artificial stone blocks (houses); constantly watched and suspected by the

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organs of society, they must unquestioningly submit to a countless number of laws and regulations; if they violate them, they are tormented for years by their fellow-men (imprisoned) or murdered (executed). — Less oppressive than in the cities is the social unfreedom in the countryside, least oppressive in thinly populated regions, such as West America, Greenland, Mongolia and Arabia. There man can still unfold in space without immediately coming into conflict with society; there there are still remnants of social freedom. The climatic unfreedom is most oppressive in the culture-lands of the north. There man must wrest from a sun-poor soil during the short summer months the nourishment for the whole year and at the same time protect himself through procurement of clothing, housing and heating from the winter frost. If he resists this forced labor, he must starve or freeze. Thus the northern climate forces him to restless, exhausting, laborious forced labor. — More freedom is granted by nature in temperate zones, where man must serve only the one tyrant: hunger, while the second: frost, is subdued by the sun. The freest man is the tropical, because there fruits and nuts nourish him even without work. Only there there is still climatic freedom. Europe is at once an overpopulated and northern stretch of earth: therefore the European is the unfreest man, slave of society and of nature. Society and nature drive their victims to each other: the man who flees from the city into the wilderness

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in order to seek protection there from the crowding of society — sees himself threatened by the merciless climate, by hunger and frost. The man who flees from the forces of nature into the city and seeks protection there with his fellow-men — sees himself threatened by the merciless society that exploits and tramples him. — LIBERATION-ATTEMPTS OF HUMANITY

World history consists of liberation-attempts of man from the prison of society and the exile of the north. The four main paths on which man attempted to return home into the lost paradise of freedom and leisure were the following: I. The way backward (emigration): back to solitude and to the sun! With this goal men and peoples have wandered since time immemorial from densely populated stretches of earth into thinly populated, from colder into warmer zones. Almost all migrations of peoples and a large part of the wars can be traced back to this original urge for freedom of movement and sun. — II. The way upward (power): up out of the human crowding into the solitude, freedom and leisure of the upper ten thousand! This call resounded when as a consequence of overpopulation

power became precondition of freedom — and as a consequence of the climatic conditions power became precondition of leisure. For only the powerful can unfold without regard to his fellow-men

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Consideration to take — only the powerful one can free himself from the compulsion to work by letting others work for him. In overpopulated countries man stands before the choice either to climb on the heads of his fellow-men or to have his own head trampled by them: to be lord or servant, robber or beggar. — This general urge for power was the father of the wars, revolutions and struggles between men. — III. The way inward (Ethics): away from the external crowding into inner solitude, from external work into inner harmony! Liberation of man through self-mastery, self-limitation and selflessness; needlessness as protection against neediness; screwing back the claims to leisure and freedom until they correspond to that minimum that an overpopulated society and a rough climate offer. — All religious movements go back to this urge to seek substitute for external unfreedom and work in the freedom and peace of soul of the heart. — IV. The way forward (Technology): out of the epoch of slave-labor into a new age of freedom and leisure through the victory of the human spirit over the forces of nature! Overcoming overpopulation through increase of production, human slave-labor through enslavement of the forces of nature. — This striving, through subjugation of nature to break its tyranny, is to be traced back to the technical and scientific progress. —

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II. ETHICS AND TECHNOLOGY THE SOCIAL QUESTION

The fateful question of European culture reads: “How is it possible to protect a humanity crowded together on the narrow space of a cold and meager continent from hunger, cold, manslaughter and overexertion and to give it the freedom and leisure through which it can once attain to happiness and beauty?” The answer reads: “Through development of ethics and technology”. — Ethics can transform the European through school, press and religion from a beast of prey into a domestic animal and thereby make him ripe for free community — technology can through increase of production and transformation of human forced labor into machine labor bestow on the European the free time and labor power that he needs for the building of a culture. Ethics solves the social question from within — technology from without. — In Europe only two classes of men have the presuppositions for happiness: the rich, who can do and have everything they want — and the saints,

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who no longer want to do and have more than their fate grants them. The rich conquer for themselves an objective freedom through their power to transform fellow-men and forces of nature into organs of their willing — the saints conquer for themselves a subjective freedom through the indifference with which they stand toward earthly goods. The rich can unfold outward — the saint inward. All remaining Europeans are slaves of nature and of society: forced laborers and prisoners. — INADEQUACY OF POLITICS

It is the ideal of ethics to make Europe a community of saints; it is the ideal of technology to make Europe a community of rich men. Ethics wants to abolish covetousness so that men no longer feel poor — technology wants to abolish need so that men no longer are poor. Politics is neither in the position to make men contented nor rich. Therefore its arbitrary attempts to solve the social question must fail. Only in the service of ethics and technology can politics participate in the solution of the social question. At the present state of ethics and technology the highest that politics could achieve would be the generalization of unfreedom, poverty and forced labor. It could only balance these evils, not abolish them; could make Europe a penitentiary of equal-right forced laborers — but no

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paradise. The citizen of the social ideal state would be unfreer and more tormented than the South Sea islander in the state of nature: cultural history would become the history of a fateful fraud on man. — STATE AND WORK

As long as ethics is too weak to protect man from his fellow-men, and technology too undeveloped to shift their labor burden onto the forces of nature — humanity seeks to ward off the damages of overpopulation through the state, the dangers of climate through work. The state protects man from the arbitrariness of fellow-men — work from the arbitrariness of the forces of nature. The organized forced state grants under certain conditions to the man who renounces his freedom the protection of person and property against the murder- and robbery-lusts of his fellow-men — the organized forced labor grants in northern regions to the man who renounces his time and labor power protection from starving and freezing. — These two institutions pardon the European, who by nature as superfluous would have been doomed to death, to lifelong forced labor; in order to sustain his life he must give up his freedom. As citizen he is locked in the narrow cage of his rights and duties — as forced laborer he is harnessed in the hard yoke of his labor performance. If he rebels

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against the state — the gallows threatens him; if he rebels against work — the death by hunger threatens him. — ANARCHY AND LEISURE

State and work both pretend to be ideals; they demand from their victims reverence and love. But they are no ideals: they are social and climatic necessities difficult to bear. Since there have been states, the longing of man dreams of anarchy, of the ideal state of statelessness — since there has been work, the longing of man dreams of leisure, of the ideal state of free time. Anarchy and leisure are ideals — not state and work. Anarchy is in a densely populated society that does not stand on a high ethical level impracticable. Its realization would have to destroy the last remnant of freedom and possibility of life that the state reserves for its citizens. In the general panic of colliding egoisms the men would crush one another. Instead of leading to freedom anarchy would have to lead to the worst unfreedom. With general leisure the majority of men in a northern part of the world would have to starve or freeze

within months. Need and misery would reach their peak. — Hermit-anarchies rule in deserts and snowfields among Eskimos and Bedouins; leisure rules in thinly populated and fertile southern countries. —

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5. OVERCOMING OF STATE AND WORK Forced state and forced labor, the two protectors and tyrants of the culture-man, can be abolished by no political revolution; only through ethics and technology. Before ethics has overcome the forced state, anarchy means general murder and robbery — before technology has overcome forced labor, leisure means general death by hunger and cold. Only through ethics can the inhabitant of overpopulated countries redeem himself from the tyranny of society, only through technology can the inhabitant of colder zones redeem himself from the tyranny of the forces of nature. The mission of the state is, through promotion of ethics to make itself superfluous and finally to lead to anarchy — the mission of work is, through promotion of technology to make itself superfluous and finally to lead to leisure. Not the voluntary human community is curse — but only the forced state; not voluntary work is curse — but only forced labor. Not licentiousness is ideal — but freedom: not idleness is ideal — but leisure. Forced state and forced labor are things that must be overcome: but they cannot be overcome through anarchy and leisure before ethics and technology have matured; in order to reach there the man must build out the forced state in order to promote ethics — build out the forced labor in order to promote technology.

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The way to ethical anarchy leads over state-compulsion — the way to technical leisure leads over work-compulsion. The curve of the cultural spiral that leads out of the paradise of the past into the paradise of the future takes the following double course: Natural anarchy — Overpopulation — Forced state — Ethics — Cultural anarchy; Natural leisure — North-migration — Forced labor — Technology — Cultural leisure. We find ourselves today in the middle of these curves, far removed from both paradises: therefore our misery. The modern average European is no longer nature-man — but not yet culture-man; no longer animal — but not yet man; no longer part of nature — but not yet lord of nature. — ETHICS AND TECHNOLOGY

Ethics and technology are sisters: ethics rules the forces of nature in us, technology rules the forces of nature around us. Both seek to subjugate nature through forming spirit. Ethics seeks through heroic negation to redeem man: through resignation — technology through heroic affirmation: through deed. Ethics turns the power-will of the spirit inward: it wants to conquer the microcosm. — Technology turns the power-will of the spirit outward: it wants to conquer the macrocosm. Neither ethics nor technology alone can redeem the northern man: for a starving and freezing humanity can through ethics neither be satiated

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nor warmed — an evil and covetous humanity through technology neither protected from itself nor satisfied. What does all morality benefit men if they

thereby starve and freeze? And what does all technical progress benefit men if they misuse it to slaughter and mutilate one another? Culture-Asia suffers more from overpopulation than from frost: it could therefore more easily renounce technology and devote itself to its ethical development than Europe, where ethics and technology must supplement each other. —

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III. ASIA AND EUROPE ASIA AND EUROPE

Asia's greatness lies in its ethics — Europe's greatness in its technology. Asia is the teacher of the world in self-mastery. — Europe is the teacher of the world in mastery of nature. In Asia the center of gravity of the social question lay in overpopulation — in Europe in climate. Asia above all had to attempt to make possible a peaceful coexistence between an excess of men: it could do this only through education of man to selflessness and self-mastery, through ethics. Europe above all had to attempt to ban the terrors of hunger and cold that constantly threatened its inhabitants: it could do this only through work and invention, through technology. — There are two basic values of life: harmony and energy; all remaining values are to be traced back to them. Asia's greatness and beauty rests on harmony.

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Europe's greatness and beauty rests on energy; Asia lives in space: its spirit is contemplative, turned inward, calm and closed; it is feminine, plant-like, static, Apollonian, classical, idyllic — Europe lives in time: its spirit is active, directed outward, moved and purposeful; it is masculine, animal-like, dynamic, Dionysian, romantic, heroic. Asia's symbol is the all-embracing sea, the circle — Europe's symbol is the forward-striving stream, the straight line. Here the deepest meaning of the cosmic symbol Alpha and Omega reveals itself. In sign-language it conveys to us that mystical, ever-recurring polarity of force and form, of time and space, of man and cosmos that hides behind the soul of Europe and Asia: the great Omega, the circle whose wide gate stands open to the cosmos — is a symbol of the divine harmony of Asia; the great Alpha, a sharp angle pointing upward that pierces the Omega — is a symbol of human activity and purposefulness of Europe that breaks with the eternal peace of Asia. A and Ω are also in the Freudian sense unmistakable symbols of the male and the female sex: the union of these signs means begetting and life and reveals the eternal dualism of the world. The same symbolism probably also underlies the digits 1 and 0: the finite One as protest against the infinite Zero — Yes against No. —

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2. CULTURE AND CLIMATE The soul of Asia and Europe has emerged from the Asian and European climate. Asia's cultural centers lie in warm — Europe's cultural centers in cold regions. This resulted in their opposite attitude toward nature: while the southerner may feel as child and friend of his generously giving nature — the northerner is forced in hard struggle to wrest everything he needs for life from a stingy soil; thus he stands before the choice: either to become lord or servant of nature — in any case however its opponent. In the south the confrontation between man and nature was peaceful-harmonious — in the north

it was warlike-heroic. Europe's dynamism explains itself by the fact that it is the northern cultural center of the earth. For tens of thousands of years cold and meagerness of the soil place the European before the choice: "Work or die!" Whoever did not want or could not work had to starve or freeze. Through many generations the northern winter systematically exterminated the weak, passive, lazy and contemplative Europeans and thus bred a hard, active, heroic human type. Since prehistoric time the white, longer still the blond humanity wrestles with winter, which has bleached it, at the same time however steeled it. To this prehistoric hardening the European owes it that he has preserved his health and energy of action through all his cultural sins up to today.

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The white man is a son of winter, of distance from the sun: in order to overcome the cold he had to strain muscles and spirit to highest performances and himself create new suns; had to overcome, reshape, subjugate the eternally hostile nature. Under this compulsion, between deed and death to choose, at the northern edge of every culture its strongest, most heroic type arose: in Europe the German (Nor[d]-man), in Asia the Japanese, in America the Aztec. — Heat forces man to restrict his activity to a minimum — cold forces him to raise his activity to a maximum. Always the active, heroic man of the north has defeated and conquered the passive, harmonious south: in return the more cultivated south has assimilated and civilized the barbaric northern man — until it finally itself was conquered, barbarized and regenerated by a new north. Most warlike conquests in history proceed from northern peoples and are directed against the south — most spiritual-religious disturbances proceed from the southern peoples and turn against the north. Europe has been religiously conquered by Jews, — militarily by Germans: in Asia the religions of India and Arabia triumphed: — while its political supremacy is Japan. The active peoples of warmer zones (Arabs, Turks, Tartars, Mongols) stem from deserts or steppes: here in place of the northern winter the aridity of the soil was their breeder: but also here the

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compulsory victory of the heroic man over the idyllic, of the active over the passive, of the hungry over the sated took place. — THE THREE RELIGIONS

India's heat, which paralyzes every activity, created its contemplative mentality; Europe's cold, which forces to activity, created its active mentality; China's moderate temperature, which demands a harmonious change of activity and contemplation, created its harmonious mentality. — These three temperatures have begotten three basic religious types: the contemplative, heroic and harmonious type. The heroic religion and ethics of the north finds expression in the Edda as well as in the worldview of European and Japanese chivalry, and experiences its resurrection in the teaching of Nietzsche. Its highest virtues are bravery and energy of action, its ideal is struggle and the hero: Siegfried. The contemplative religion and ethics of the south finds its perfection in Buddhism. Its highest virtues are renunciation and mildness, its ideal is peace and the saint: Buddha. The harmonious religion and ethics of the middle unfolded in the west in Hellas, in the east in China. It demands neither the asceticism of struggle nor of

renunciation. It is optimistic and this-worldly; its ideal is the noble man: the wise Confucius, the artist

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Apollo. The Greek ideal of the Apollonian man stands in the middle between the Germanic hero Siegfried and the Indian saint Buddha. — All religious and ethical structures are combinations from these three basic types. Every religion that spreads must adapt itself to these climatic demands. Thus oriental Christianity approaches the south-religion, Catholic the middle-religion, Protestant the north-religion. The same applies to Buddhism in Ceylon, China and Japan. — Christianity has transmitted to our culture the Asian values of the south; the Renaissance has transmitted to us the ancient values of the middle; chivalry has transmitted to us the Germanic values of the north. — HARMONY AND FORCE

Europe's cultural values are mixed — its spirit predominantly northern. In goodness and wisdom the Oriental is superior to the European — in energy of action and cleverness he lags behind him. European honor is a heroic value — oriental dignity a harmonious one. Permanent struggle hardens, permanent peace softens the heart. Therefore the Oriental is milder and gentler than the European. To this comes the fact that the social past of the Indians, Chinese, Japanese and Jews is many times older than that of the Germans, who still 2000 years ago lived in anarchy: thus the Asians could develop their social virtues better and longer than the Europeans.

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To the goodness of the heart corresponds the wisdom of the spirit. Wisdom rests on harmony — cleverness on sharpness of spirit. Also wisdom is a fruit of the riper south, which is rare in the north. Even the philosophers of Europe are rarely wise, its ethicists rarely kind. Still ancient culture was richer in wise men whose total personality bore the stamp of clarified spirituality — while this type in modern Europe (among Christians) is almost extinct. This too is connected with the cultural youth of the Germans and with the passionateness of the European spirit. To this comes that in the Christian Middle Ages the monasteries in the midst of a warlike and active world were the only asylums for contemplative wisdom: there the wise withdrew and died, as victims of the vow of chastity, out. The European Christ-images look serious and sad — while the Buddha-statues smile. The thinkers of Europe are deeply serious — while the wise of Asia smile: for they live in harmony with themselves, society and nature, not in struggle; begin every reform with themselves instead of with others and thus work more through their example than through books. Beyond thinking they find their childlikeness again — while Europe's thinkers age early. And yet Europe is in its way as great as Asia: but its greatness lies neither in goodness nor in wisdom — but in energy of action and inventive spirit. Europe is the hero of the earth; on every battle-front of humanity it stands at the head of the peoples: in hunting, war and technology the Euro-

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pean has achieved more than any historical cultured people before or beside him. He has exterminated almost all dangerous animals in his countries; has

defeated and subjugated almost all dark-colored peoples, and finally through invention and work, through science and technology attained such power over nature as never and nowhere before was held possible. Asia's world-mission is the redemption of humanity through ethics — Europe's world-mission is the liberation of humanity through technology. Europe's symbol is not the wise man, not the saint, not the martyr — but the hero, the fighter, victor and liberator. —

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IV. EUROPE'S TECHNICAL WORLD MISSION THE EUROPEAN SPIRIT

With modern times the great cultural mission of Europe begins. The essence of Europe is the will to change and improve the world through deeds. Europe strives consciously out of the present into the future; it finds itself in a state of constant emancipation, reformation, revolution; it is eager for innovation, skeptical, irreverent and wrestles with its habits and traditions. In Jewish mythology the European spirit corresponds to Lucifer — in Greek Prometheus: the light-bringer who carries the divine spark to earth, who rebels against the heavenly-Asian harmony, against the divine world-order, the prince of this earth, the father of struggle, technology, enlightenment and progress, the leader of man in his wrestling against nature. The spirit of Europe has broken political despotism and the tyranny of the forces of nature. The European does not resign himself to his fate but seeks to master it through deed and spirit: as activist and as rationalist.

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2. HELLAS AS PRE-EUROPE Hellas was the forerunner of Europe; it first felt the essential difference between itself and Asia and discovered its activist-rationalistic soul. Its Olympus was not a paradise of peace — but a place of struggle; its highest god was an irreverent rebel. Hellas overthrew its kings and gods — and set in their place the state of the citizen and the religion of man. This European period of Greece began with the overthrow of the tyrants and closed with the Asian despotism of Alexander and the Diadochi; found a short continuation in republican Rome in order then finally to lose itself to the Roman Empire. Alexander the Great, the Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors were heirs of the Asian idea of great-kingship. The Roman Empire differed in no essential respect from the oriental despotisms of China, Mesopotamia, India and Persia. — In the Middle Ages Europe was a spiritual cultural province of Asia. It was dominated by the Asian religion of Christ. Asian was its religious culture, its mystical basic mood, its monarchical form of state and the dualism of popes and emperors, monks and knights. Only with the emancipation of Europe from Christianity — which began with Renaissance and Reformation, found its continuation in the Enlightenment and in Nietzsche its climax — did Europe come back to itself and separate itself spiritually from Asia. —

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European culture is the culture of modern times. — THE TECHNICAL FOUNDATIONS OF EUROPE

The world of Philip II means in no essential respect a cultural progress compared to the world of Hammurabi: neither in art, nor in science, nor in politics, nor in justice, nor in administration. In the three and a half centuries that lie between us and Philip the world has changed more thoroughly than in the preceding three and a half millennia. It was technology that woke Europe from its Asian sleeping-beauty sleep of the Middle Ages. It defeated chivalry and feudalism through the invention of the firearm — papacy and superstition through invention of book-printing; through compass and ship-technology it opened to the European the foreign continents that it then, with the help of powder, conquered. The progress of modern sciences is not to be separated from the development of technology: without telescope there would be no modern astronomy, without microscope no bacteriology. Also modern art stands in the closest connection with technology: modern instrumental music, modern architecture, modern theater rest partly on technical foundation. The effect of photography on portrait-painting will likewise strengthen itself: for since photography is unsurpassable in the

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reproduction of facial forms, it will force painting to withdraw to its own most proper field and to hold fast the essence, the soul of man. — A similar effect as photography on painting could cinematography exercise on theater. Modern strategy has thoroughly changed under the influence of technology. From a psychological science war-art has become predominantly a technical one. Today's methods of war differ more essentially from the medieval than these from the mode of fighting of primitive peoples. The whole politics of the present stands under the sign of technical development: democracy, nationalism and popular education are to be traced back to the invention of book-printing; industrialism and colonial imperialism, capitalism and socialism are consequential phenomena of technical progress and the restructuring of world-economy conditioned by it. Just as agriculture creates a patriarchal, handicraft an individualistic mentality — so common, organized industrial labor creates the socialist mentality: the technical organization of labor mirrors itself again in the socialist organization of the workers. Finally technical progress has itself changed the European: he has become hastier, more nervous, more inconstant, more awake, more presence-of-mind, more rationalistic, more active, more practical and cleverer. If we strike all these consequential phenomena of technology from our culture, what remains stands in no respect higher than ancient-Egyptian and ancient-Babylonian culture — in some respects even deeper.

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To technology therefore Europe owes its lead over all other cultures. Only through it did it become lord and leader of the world. Europe is a function of technology. America is the highest intensification of Europe. — TECHNICAL WORLD TURNING-POINT

The technical age of Europe is a world-historical event whose significance is to be compared with the invention of fire in human prehistory. With the invention of fire the history of human culture began, the humanization of animal-man

began. All following spiritual and material advances of humanity build upon this discovery of the primeval-European Prometheus. Technology denotes a similar turning-point in the history of humanity as fire. In tens of thousands of years history will be divided into a pre-technical and a post-technical epoch. The European — who by then will long have become extinct — will be praised by that future humanity as father of the technical world turning-point like a redeemer. The possibilities of effect of the technical age, at whose beginning we stand, are incalculable. It creates the material foundations for all coming cultures, which through their changed basis will differ essentially from all previous ones. All previous cultures, from the ancient Egyptian and Chinese to that of the Middle Ages, were so similar to one another in their course and in their unfolding because

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they rested on the same technical presuppositions. From the Egyptian early period to the end of the Middle Ages technology has no essential progress to record. The culture that will emerge from the technical age will stand as high above the ancient and medieval as these above the cultures of the Stone Age. —

EUROPE AS CULTURE TANGENT

Europe is no culture circle — it is a culture tangent: the tangent to the great cycle of the oriental cultures, which arose, bloomed and perished in order to arise rejuvenated at another place. This culture cycle Europe has burst and carried into its path a direction that leads toward unknown life-forms. Within the oriental cultures of the East and of the West everything had already been there: the technical culture of Europe however is something unprecedented, something truly new. Europe is a transition between the self-contained complex of all previous historical cultures and the culture-forms of the future. An age comparable in significance and dynamism to the European, whose traces we have however lost, must have preceded the ancient Babylonian, ancient Chinese and ancient Egyptian culture. This prehistoric pre-Europe has

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created the foundation for all cultures of the last millennia; like modern Europe it was a culture tangent that had detached itself from the cycle of the prehistoric pre-cultures. The course of great world history is composed of Asiatic culture cycles and European culture tangents. Without these tangents (which are European only in the spiritual, not in the geographical sense) there would be only unfolding, not development. After a long period of maturity a genial people always detaches itself again from the darkness of the ages, bursts the natural culture course and lifts humanity to a higher stage. Inventions, not poems or religions, mark these stages of cultural development: the invention of bronze, of iron, of electricity. These inventions form the eternal legacy of an age to all coming cultures. Of antiquity nothing will remain — while modern times enrich culture through the subjugation of electricity and other natural forces: these inventions will outlive Faust, the Divine Comedy and the Iliad. With the Middle Ages the culture circle of iron closed — with modern times the culture circle of the machine begins: here begins not a new culture — but a new age. Creator of this technical age is the genial Promethid-people of the Germanized Europeans.

On their inventive spirit rests modern culture just as on the ethics of the Jews, the art of the Hellenes and the politics of the Romans. —

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6. LEONARDO AND BACON At the beginning of the technical age two great Europeans have anticipated the meaning of Europe: Leonardo da Vinci and Bacon of Verulam. Leonardo devoted himself to technical tasks with the same passion as artistic ones. His favorite problem was human flight, whose solution our age has witnessed with astonishment. In India there are said to be Yogis who through ethics and asceticism cancel gravity and can float in the air; in Europe the inventive spirit of engineers and its materialization: the airplane, conquered gravity on the technical path. Levitation and flight technology symbolically represent the Asiatic and European path to power and freedom of man. — Bacon was the creator of the bold technical utopia "Nova Atlantis". Its technical character essentially distinguishes it from all previous utopias; from Plato to More. The change of medieval-Asiatic thinking into a modern-European one expresses itself in the opposition of More's ethical-political "Utopia" and Bacon's technical-scientific "Nova Atlantis". More still sees in social-ethical reforms the lever of world-improvement — Bacon in technical inventions. More was still Christian — Bacon already European. —

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V. HUNT — WAR — WORK POWER AND FREEDOM

The contemplative man lives in peace with his environment — the active in permanent state of war. In order to preserve himself, to assert himself and to unfold he must constantly ward off, destroy, enslave foreign and hostile forces. The struggle for life is a struggle for freedom and power. To win means: to enforce one's will. Therefore only the victor is free, only the victor powerful. Between freedom and power no boundary can be drawn: the full enjoyment of one's own freedom injures foreign interests: power is the only security of unhindered freedom. The struggle of humanity for freedom coincides with its struggle for power. In its course it has conquered and subjugated the globe: the animal kingdom through hunt and animal husbandry — the plant kingdom through agriculture — the mineral kingdom through mining — the natural forces through technology. From an inconspicuous, weak animal man has risen to lord of the earth. —

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2. HUNT The first phase of the human struggle was the age of the hunt. In hundreds of thousands of years of continuous struggles man has won dominion over the animal world. This victorious struggle of the relatively weak man against all exterminated and still existing larger and wilder animal species is in its grandeur to be compared with the conquest of the ancient world by the small Latin village Rome. Man triumphed over all horns and teeth, paws and claws of his physically better equipped rivals solely through the weapon of his superior understanding, which in the course of this struggle constantly sharpened itself. The goals of the human struggle against his animal enemies were defensive and offensive: defense and enslavement. At first man contented himself with

rendering the hostile animals harmless through defense and extermination; later he began to tame them and to make use of them. He transformed wolves into dogs, buffaloes into cattle, wild elephants, camels, reindeer, donkeys, horses, llamas, goats, sheep and cats into tame ones. Thus he subjected to himself from the host of prehistoric rivals an army of animal slaves, an arsenal of living machines that worked and fought in his service, multiplied his freedom and his power. — WAR

In order to maintain and increase the power won, man proceeded to fight his fellow-men

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with the same methods as the animal world. The age of the hunt transformed itself into an age of war. Man wrestled with man for the distribution of the earth conquered from the animal world. The stronger warded off the weaker, exterminated or enslaved him: war was a special form of the hunt, slavery a special form of animal husbandry. In the struggle for power and freedom the stronger, bolder and cleverer man triumphed over the weaker, more cowardly, stupider. War too sharpened the human spirit, steeled human strength. — WORK

In the long run neither hunt nor war alone could nourish man: he had to undertake another change of front and take up the struggle against inanimate nature. The age of work began. Wars and hunting adventures still brought fame and sensations — but the center of gravity of life shifted toward work, because only it brought him the nourishment that he needed for his sustenance. Work was a special form of war — technology a special form of slavery: instead of men natural forces were defeated and enslaved. Through work man fought hunger: he subjected the soil and the field fruits to himself and reaped their yield. Through work man fought the winter cold: he built houses, wove fabrics, felled wood. Thus he protected himself through work from the hostile forces of nature. —

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5. WAR AS ANACHRONISM Hunt, war, work overlapped so much that it is impossible to separate them chronologically. Earlier the age of the hunt ran parallel for millennia with that of war — as today the age of war runs parallel with that of work; but the center of gravity of the battle front shifted and shifts constantly. While originally the hunt stood in the center of human activity, in the sequel war took its place and finally work. War, which was once essential and necessary for cultural progress, has lost this significance and has become a dangerous cultural pest. Today it is not wars that mark the stages of progress — but inventions. The decisive battles of humanity for freedom and power are today fought at the front of work. In a time when the World War will interest only historians, our turn of the century will stand gloriously as the birth hour of human flight. Just as in the age of war the hunt preserved itself as an anachronism — so in the age of work war preserves itself as an anachronism. But in this epoch every war is a civil war, because it turns against fellow combatants and confuses the common work front. In the age of work the

glorification of war is as untimely as in the war epoch the glorification of the hunt. Originally the

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dragon- and lion-slayer was the hero; then it was the general; finally it is the inventor. Lavoisier has accomplished more for human development than Robespierre and Bonaparte together. Just as in the age of the hunt the hunter ruled, in the age of war the warrior — so in the age of work the worker will rule. — 6. TECHNOLOGYThe age of work falls into that of agriculture and technology. As farmer man is predominantly defensive toward nature — as technician offensive. The methods of work correspond to those of war and the hunt: defense and enslavement. The epoch of agriculture limits itself to warding off hunger and cold — while technology proceeds to enslave the formerly hostile natural forces. Man today rules over steam and electricity and over a slave army of machines. With them he wards off not only hunger and cold, natural catastrophes and diseases — but even undertakes to attack the barriers of space, time and gravity. His struggle for freedom from the forces of nature passes over into a wrestling for power over the forces of nature. — Technology is the practical application of science for the mastery of nature; to technology in the broader sense also belongs chemistry as atomic technology and medicine as organic technology. Technology spiritualizes work: thereby

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reduces the work burden and increases the work yield. Technology rests on a heroic, activistic attitude toward nature; it does not want to submit to the will of the natural forces but to master it. The will to power is the driving force of technical progress. In the natural forces the technician sees tyrants to be overthrown, opponents to be defeated, beasts to be tamed. — Technology is a child of the European spirit. —

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VI. THE CAMPAIGN OF TECHNOLOGY EUROPE'S MASS MISERY

Through the increase in population the situation of the European becomes ever more desperate; despite all previous progress of technology he still finds himself in a quite wretched condition. He has pushed back the specters of hunger and freezing — but at the price of his freedom and his leisure. The terrible forced labor begins for the European in his seventh year of life with compulsory schooling and usually ends only with death. His childhood is poisoned by preparation for the struggle for life, which in the following decades swallows up his entire time and personality, his life force and joy of life. On leisure stands the death penalty; the propertyless average European stands before the choice: either to work to exhaustion or to starve along with his children. The hunger whip drives him on, despite exhaustion, disgust and bitterness, to continue working. The European peoples have undertaken two political attempts to improve this wretched condition: colonial policy and socialism. —

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2. COLONIAL POLICY The first form of colonial policy consists in the conquest and settlement of thinly populated stretches of earth by nations that suffer from overpopulation. Emigration is actually capable of saving countries from overpopulation and of securing for people for whom the European crowding has become unbearable a free and humane existence. Emigration still offers many millions of people an escape from the European hell and should therefore be promoted in every way. — The second form of colonial policy rests on the exploitation of warmer stretches of earth and colored peoples. People of southern races are startled out of their golden leisure by European cannons and rifles and forced to work in the service of Europe. The poorer but stronger North systematically plunders the richer but weaker South; it robs it of wealth, freedom and leisure and uses this booty to increase its own wealth, its own freedom and its own leisure. Some European peoples owe a part of their prosperity to this aid of robbery, exploitation and slavery, which puts them in a position to improve the lot of their native workers. — In the long run this aid must fail: for its inevitable consequence is a tremendous slave revolt that will sweep the Europeans out of the colored colonies and thereby overthrow Europe's tropical cultural basis. —

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Emigration too is only a provisional aid: today already some colonies are as densely crowded as their mother countries and nourish the same misery. The time must come when there will no longer be any uninhabited areas on earth. Until then new means must be found to oppose the European doom. — SOCIAL POLICY

The second attempt to alleviate the European mass misery is undertaken by socialism. Socialism wants to ban the European hell through equal distribution of the work burden and the work yield. There is no doubt that the lot of the European masses could be substantially improved through reasonable reforms. But if social progress is not carried by an upswing of technology, it can only alleviate the social misery, not eliminate it. For the work burden that is necessary to feed and warm the far too many Europeans is great; the work yield that the rough and not sufficiently fruitful Europe throws off even with the most intensive exploitation is relatively small, so that even with the most just distribution very much work and very little pay would fall to each European. At the present state of technology life in a socialist Europe would dissolve into the double activity: work in order to eat and eat in order to work. The equality ideal would be achieved: but of freedom, leisure and culture Europe would

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be farther away than ever. In order to free people, Europe is on the one hand too barbaric, on the other too poor. The wealth of the few rich, distributed to all, would vanish without a trace: poverty would not be abolished but generalized. Socialism alone is not capable of leading Europe out of its unfreedom and its misery to freedom and prosperity. Neither ballots nor stocks could compensate the coal worker for having to spend his life in caves and shafts. The majority of slaves of oriental despots are freer than this free worker of a socialized enterprise. Socialism misunderstands the European problem when it sees the

basic evil of the European economy in the unjust distribution instead of in the insufficient production. The root of European misery lies in the necessity of forced labor — not in the injustice of its distribution. Socialism errs when it sees in capitalism the ultimate cause of the terrible forced labor under which Europe groans; for in truth only a very small part of the European labor performance flows to the capitalists and their luxury: the very greatest part of this work serves to transform an unfruitful part of the world into a fruitful one, a cold one into a warm one and to sustain on it a number of people that it could not nourish on the natural path. Winter and the overpopulation of Europe are harsher and more cruel despots than all the capitalists: but it is not the politicians who lead the European PAGE

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revolution against these merciless tyrants — but the inventors. — TECHNICAL WORLD REVOLUTION

Colonial imperialism as well as socialism are palliatives, not remedies for the European disease; they can alleviate the need, not ban it; postpone the catastrophe, not prevent it. Europe will have to decide either to decimate its population and commit suicide — or to recover through large-scale increase of production and perfection of technology. For only this path can lead the Europeans to prosperity, leisure and culture, while the social and colonial rescue paths finally end in dead ends. Europe must be clear that technical progress is a war of liberation of the greatest style against the harshest, cruelest and most merciless tyrant: northern nature. On the outcome of this technical world revolution depends whether humanity uses the opportunity offered once in aeons: to become mistress over nature — or whether it lets this opportunity, perhaps forever, pass unused. — About a hundred years ago Europe opened the offensive against the overpowering nature against which until then it had only defended itself. It no longer contented itself with living on the grace of the natural forces: but it began to enslave its enemies. PAGE 106
Technology has begun to supplement the slave army of domestic animals and to replace the slave army of heavy workers with machines that are driven by natural forces. — THE ARMY OF TECHNOLOGY

Europe (and with it America) has mobilized the globe for this greatest and most momentous of all wars. The front troops of the world-spanning work army that fights against the arbitrariness of the natural forces are the industrial workers; their officers engineers, entrepreneurs, directors, their general staff the inventors, their train peasants and agricultural workers, their artillery the machines, their trenches mines, their forts factories. With this army, whose reserves it draws from all parts of the world, the white man hopes to break the tyranny of nature, to subject its forces to the human spirit and thus to free man finally. — THE ELECTRIC VICTORY

The technical army has won its first decisive victory over one of the oldest adversaries of the human race: lightning. Since time immemorial the electric spark as lightning has threatened, wounded, killed man; has burned his houses and struck down his cattle. To this treacherous enemy, which never helped him

in any way, man was exposed for hundreds of thousands of years: until Benjamin Franklin through the invention

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of the lightning rod broke its reign of terror over man. The electric spark as scourge of humanity was thus warded off. But the white man did not content himself with this defensive victory: he went over to the offensive and in a century succeeded in transforming this enemy into a slave, this most dangerous beast of prey into his most useful domestic animal. Today the electric spark, which once filled our ancestors with horror, lights our rooms, cooks our tea, irons our laundry, heats our rooms, rings our bells, forwards our letters (telegrams), pulls trains and cars, drives machines — is thus, in a word, our messenger, letter carrier, errand boy, cook, heater, illuminator, worker, porter and even our executioner. What the electric spark today performs in Europe and America in the service of man could not be remotely replaced even by doubling human working time. Just as this formerly hostile natural force was not only beaten back but transformed into the most indispensable and useful servant of man — so one day the floods of the sea and the heats of the sun, storms and floods will also become from enemies into slaves of man. From poisons will come remedies, from deadly bacilli protective inoculations. Just as primeval man tamed and subjected wild animals — so modern man tames and subjects wild natural forces. Through such victories the northern man will one day

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conquer freedom, leisure and culture: not through depopulation or renunciation, not through war and revolution — but through invention and work, through spirit and deed. — THE INVENTOR AS REDEEMER

In our European epoch the inventor is a greater benefactor of humanity than the saint. The inventor of the automobile has done more good for horses and spared them more suffering than all animal protection societies in the world. The small car is in the process of redeeming thousands of East Asian coolies from their draft-animal existence. The inventors of the diphtheria and smallpox serum have saved more children's lives than all infant homes. The galley slaves owe their liberation to modern ship technology, while through the introduction of petroleum firing modern technology is beginning to redeem the ship heaters from their hellish profession. The inventor who, say through atomic disintegration, creates a practical coal substitute — will have achieved more for humanity than the most successful social reformer: for he will redeem the millions of coal workers from their inhumane existence and eliminate a large part of the human work burden — while today no communist dictator could avoid condemning people to that subterranean mine life. The chemist who succeeds in making wood edible

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would free humanity from the slave yoke of hunger that oppresses it longer and more cruelly than any human tyranny. — Neither ethics, nor art, nor religion, nor politics will wipe out the paradisiacal curse — but technology. Organic technology, medicine, is reserved to ban the hereditary curse of woman: "You

shall give birth to your children in pain"; inorganic technology is reserved to ban the hereditary curse of man: "In the sweat of your face you shall eat your bread". — In many respects our age resembles the beginning of the Roman imperial period. At that time the world hoped for redemption through the peace empire of the pax romana. The hoped-for world turning came — but from a completely different side: not from outside — but from inside; not through politics — but through religion; not through Caesar Augustus — but through Jesus Christ. We too stand before a world turning; humanity today expects from the socialist era the dawn of the golden age. The hoped-for world turning will, perhaps, come: but not through politics — but through technology: not through a revolutionary — but through an inventor: not through Lenin — but through a man who perhaps today already lives somewhere nameless and to whom it will one day succeed, through the opening of new, undreamed-of energy sources to redeem humanity from hunger, frost and forced labor. —

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VII. ULTIMATE GOAL OF TECHNOLOGY CULTURE AND SLAVERY

Every previous culture was based on slavery: antiquity on slaves, the medieval on serfs, the modern on proletarians. — The significance of the slaves rests on the fact that through their unfreedom and extra work they create space for the freedom and leisure of a master caste, which is the precondition of every formation of culture. For it is not possible that the same people perform the enormous physical work that is required for the nourishment, clothing and housing of their generation — and at the same time the enormous mental work that is necessary for the creation and maintenance of a culture. Everywhere division of labor prevails: so that the brain can think, the intestines must digest; without their roots digging in the earth no plant can bloom to the sky. Carriers of every culture are unfolded people. Unfolding is impossible without an atmosphere of freedom and leisure: even stone can crystallize only in a liquid, free state; where it is enclosed, unfree, it must remain amorphous. The culture-forming freedom and leisure

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could only be created through servitude and overwork of many. In northern and overpopulated stretches the divine existence of thousands was always and everywhere built on an animal existence of hundreds of thousands. Modern times with its Christian, social ideas stood before the alternative: either to renounce culture — or to retain slavery. Against the first eventuality spoke aesthetic — against the second ethical reservations: the first contradicted taste, the second feeling. Western Europe decided for the second solution: in order to preserve the remnant of its bourgeois culture it retained slavery in disguised form in the industrial proletariat — while Russia is preparing to resort to the first solution: it frees its proletarians but sacrifices its entire culture to this slave liberation. Both solutions are in their consequence unbearable. The human spirit must seek an escape from this dilemma: it finds it in technology. It alone can at the same time break slavery and save culture. THE MACHINE

Ultimate goal of technology is: replacement of slave labor by machine labor; elevation of the entire humanity to a master caste in whose service an army of natural forces in machine form works.

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We find ourselves on the way to this goal: earlier almost all technical energies had to be generated by human or animal muscles — today they are frequently replaced by steam power, electricity and motor power. More and more the role of a regulator of energies falls to man — instead of that of a generator. Yesterday the worker as coolie still pulled culture forward — tomorrow he will be its chauffeur, who observes, thinks and steers, instead of running and sweating. The machine is the liberation of man from the yoke of slave labor. Through it one brain can perform more work and create more values than millions of arms. The machine is materialized human spirit, frozen mathematics, the grateful creature of man, begotten from the mental power of the inventor, born from the muscle power of the workers. The machine has a double task: to increase production and to reduce and lighten work. Through increase of production the machine will break need — through reduction of work slavery. Today the worker may be human only to the smallest part — because he must be machine to the greatest part: in the future the machine will take over the mechanical, the automatic of work and leave to man the human, the organic. Thus the machine opens the prospect of spiritualization and individualization of human work: its free and creative component will grow in comparison with the automatic-mechanical — the spiritual in comparison with the material. Then only will work cease to depersonalize, mechanize, degrade man; then only will work become similar to play, to sport and to free creative activity. It will not, as today, be a scourge that suppresses everything human — but an aid against boredom, a diversion and a bodily or mental exercise for the unfolding of all abilities. This work, which man as brain of his machine will perform and which is based on mastery, will stimulate instead of dull, elevate instead of depress. —

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3. DEMOLITION OF THE METROPOLIS Besides these two tasks: alleviation of need through increase of production and demolition of slavery through reduction and individualization of work — the machine has a third cultural mission: the dissolution of the modern metropolis and the return of man to nature. — The origin of the modern metropolis falls in a time when the horse was the fastest means of transport and there were still no telephones. At that time it was necessary that people lived in closest proximity to their workplaces and consequently crowded together on a narrow space. Technology has changed these presuppositions: express train, auto, bicycle and telephone today allow the worker to live many kilometers away from his office. For the building

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and the piling up of interest barracks there no longer exists any necessity. In the future people will have the possibility to live next to one another instead of on top of one another, to breathe healthy air in gardens, and in bright spacious rooms to lead a healthy, clean, humane life. Electric and gas stoves will (without the trouble of heating and procuring fuel) protect from winter cold, electric

lamps from the long winter nights. The human spirit will triumph over winter and make the northern zone as habitable as the temperate. The development toward the garden city has already begun: the rich leave the centers of the metropolises that they formerly inhabited and settle on their periphery or in their surroundings. The newly emerging industrial cities expand in width instead of in height. — On a higher level the cities of the future will in layout have some similarity with those of the Middle Ages: just as there low bourgeois houses were grouped around a gigantic cathedral — so one day around a gigantic skyscraper (that will encompass all public and private offices and be warehouse and dining house) the low houses and wide gardens of the garden city will extend. In factory cities the factory will be that central cathedral of work: the devotion of man in these cathedrals of the future will be work for the community. Whoever is not professionally bound to the city will live in the countryside, which through long-distance lines and wireless connections participates in the conveniences,

activities and diversions of the cities will participate. A time will come in which people will no longer understand how it was once possible to live in the stone labyrinths that we today know as modern metropolises. Their ruins will then be marveled at, like today the dwellings of the cave-dwellers. The doctors will rack their brains over how from the hygienic standpoint it was at all possible that people in such seclusion from nature, freedom, light and air, in such an atmosphere of soot, smoke, dust and dirt could at all live and thrive. — The coming demolition of the metropolis as a consequence of the upswing of transportation technology is a necessary precondition of real culture. For in the unnatural and unhealthy atmosphere of today's metropolis people are systematically poisoned and crippled in body, soul and spirit. Metropolitan culture is a swamp plant: for it is carried by degenerated, morbid and decadent people who have voluntarily or involuntarily strayed into these dead ends of life.

— THE CULTURAL PARADISE OF THE MILLIONAIRE

Technology is in a position to offer the modern man more possibilities of happiness and unfolding than past times offered their princes and kings. To be sure, today still, at the beginning of the technical world period, the number of those to whom the inventions of modern times stand unlimitedly at disposal is small. A modern dollar millionaire can surround himself with all luxury, all comfort, all art and all beauty that the earth offers. He can enjoy all fruits of nature and culture, can live without working where and how it pleases him. Through telephone and auto he can according to choice be connected with the world or separated from it; he can live as a hermit in the metropolis or in society on his country estate; need suffer neither under the climate nor under overpopulation; hunger and frost are foreign to him; through his airplanes he is lord of the air, through his yacht lord of the seas. In many respects he is freer and more powerful than Napoleon and Caesar. They could only rule men — but not fly over oceans and speak over continents. He on the other hand is lord of nature. Natural forces serve him as invisible, powerful servants and spirits. With their help he can fly faster and higher than a bird, race faster over the earth than a gazelle and live under water like a fish. Through these abilities and powers he is freer even than the native of the South Seas and has overcome the paradisiacal

curse. By the detour via culture he has returned home into a more perfect paradise. — The foundation for so perfect a life has been created by technology. For some chosen ones it has made cultural paradises out of the northern primeval forests and swamps. In these lucky children man can see a promise of fate to his grandchildren. They are the vanguard of humanity on its way into the Eden of the

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future. What today is exception can, with further technical progress, become the rule. Technology has burst the gates of paradise; through the narrow entrance only a few have so far stepped: but the path stands open and through diligence and spirit the whole of humanity can one day follow those lucky children. Man need not despair: never was he so near his goal as today. A few centuries ago the possession of a glass window, a mirror, a clock, of soap or sugar was a great luxury: technical production has scattered these once rare goods among the masses. As today everyone wears a clock and possesses a mirror — so perhaps in a century every man could have an auto, his villa and his telephone. Prosperity must rise all the faster and become all the more general the more rapidly the production figures rise in relation to the population figures. It is the cultural goal of technology one day to offer all men the possibilities of life over which today those millionaires dispose. Therefore technology fights against need — not against wealth; against servitude — not against dominion. Its goal is generalization of wealth, of power, of leisure, of beauty and of happiness: not proletarianization but aristocratization of humanity! —

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VIII. THE SPIRIT OF THE TECHNICAL AGE HEROIC PACIFISM

The paradise of the future cannot be sneaked into through putsches — it can only be conquered through work. — The spirit of the technical age is heroic-pacifistic: heroic, because technology is war with changed object — pacifistic, because its struggle is not directed against men but against natural forces. — Technical heroism is bloodless: the technical hero works, thinks, acts, dares and suffers not in order to seek the life of his fellow-men but in order to redeem them from the slave yoke of hunger, cold, need and forced labor. The hero of the technical age is a peaceful hero of work and of the spirit. — The work of the technical age is asceticism: self-mastery and renunciation. In its present form and its present extent it is no pleasure but a hard sacrifice that we offer to our fellow-men and descendants.

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Asceticism means exercise: it is the Greek expression for what in English is called training; through this translation the concept of asceticism loses its pessimistic character and becomes optimistic-heroic. The optimistic, life-affirming asceticism of the technical age prepares a kingdom of God on earth: it clears the earth into paradise; for this purpose it moves mountains, rivers and lakes, wraps the globe in cables and rails, creates plantations out of primeval forests, arable land out of steppes. Like a superhuman being man changes the surface of the earth according to his needs. — THE SPIRIT OF INERTIA

In the age of work and technology there is no greater vice than inertia — as in the age of war there was no greater vice than cowardice. The overcoming of inertia is the main task of technical heroism. Where life manifests itself as energy — there inertia stands in the sign of death. The struggle of life against death is a struggle of energy of action against inertia. The victory of death over life is a victory of inertia over energy of action. The messengers of death are age and sickness: in them inertia gains supremacy over life-energy: features, limbs, movements become slack and drooping, life force, life courage and life joy sink, everything bends toward the earth, becomes tired and inert — until the man who can no longer stride forward and

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can no longer hold himself upright sinks as a sacrifice of inertia into the grave: there inertia triumphs over life. All young blossoms strive, contrary to gravity, toward the sun: all ripe fruits fall, overpowered by gravity, to the earth. — Symbol of the technical victory over gravity, of the triumphal human will and human spirit over the inertia of matter is the flying man. Few things are so sublime and so beautiful as he. Here poetry and truth, romanticism and technology, the myths of Daedalus and Wieland marry with the visions of Leonardo and Goethe; through deeds of technicians the boldest poet-dreams become reality: on wings that his spirit and his will have spanned the man rises above space, time and gravity, above earth and sea. — BEAUTY AND TECHNOLOGY

Whoever still doubted the beauty value of technology must fall silent at the sight of the flying man. But not only the airplane bestows new beauty on us: also automobile, motorboat, express-train locomotive, dynamo machine are in activity and movement of their own specific beauty. Because however this beauty is dynamic it cannot, like the static beauty of the landscape, be captured by brush, chisel and mallet: therefore it does not exist for people without original sense of beauty who need art as a guide in the labyrinth of beauty.

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A thing is beautiful through the ideals of harmony and vitality that it conveys to us and the impulses that it gives us in these directions. Thus every culture creates its own symbols of power and beauty: the Greek heightened his own harmony on statues and temples; the Roman heightened his power and bravery on the circus fights of his beasts of prey and gladiators; the medieval Christian deepened and transfigured his soul through empathy with the Passion in the mass sacrifice and altar sacraments; the burgher of modern times grew on the heroes of his theater and novels; the Japanese learned grace, charm and submission to fate from his flowers. — In a time of restless progress the beauty ideal had to become dynamic — and with it its symbol. The man of the technical age is a pupil of the machine that he has created: from it he learns tireless activity and collected power. The machine as creature and temple of the holy human spirit symbolizes the overcoming of matter by the spirit, of the rigid by movement, of inertia by power: the wearing oneself out in the service of the idea, the liberation of humanity through the deed. — Technology has given the

coming age a new form of expression: the cinema. The cinema is in the process of replacing the theater of today, the church of yesterday, circus and amphitheater of the day before yesterday and of playing a leading cultural role in the work state of the future.

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Despite all its artistic deficiencies the film is already beginning today unconsciously to carry a new gospel into the masses: the gospel of power and of beauty. It proclaims, beyond good and evil, the victory of the strongest man and the most beautiful woman — whether now the man who towers above his rivals in bodily, will or spirit power is adventurer or hero, criminal or detective, and whether the woman who is more charming or nobler, more graceful or more selfless than the others is hetaera or mother. Thus the screen preaches in a thousand variations to the men: “Be strong!” to the women: “Be beautiful!” To purify and expand this mass-pedagogical mission that slumbers in the cinema is one of the greatest and most responsible tasks of today’s artists: for the cinema of the future will unquestionably have a greater influence on proletarian culture than the theater on bourgeois culture. — EMANCIPATION

The cult of the technical age is a cult of power. For the unfolding of harmony there is lacking time and leisure. In its sign will one day stand the golden age of culture that will follow the iron age of work. Characteristic for the dynamic attitude of our epoch is its masculine-European character. The masculine-European ethics of Nietzsche forms the protest of our age against the feminine-Asian morality of Christianity. Also the emancipation of woman is a symptom for the masculinization of our world: for it does not lead the feminine human type to power — but the masculine. While earlier the feminine woman through her influence on the man participated in world dominion — today men of both sexes swing the scepter of economic and political power. Woman emancipation means the triumph of the mannish woman over the real, feminine woman; it does not lead to the victory — but to the abolition of the woman. The lady is already dying out: the woman shall follow her. — Through emancipation the female sex, which hitherto was partly exempted, is mobilized for the technical war and enlisted in the army of work. — The emancipation of the Asians proceeds under the same conditions as the emancipation of women; it is a symptom for the Europeanization of our world: for it does not lead the oriental type to victory — but the European. While earlier the oriental spirit through Christianity ruled Europe — today white and colored Europeans share in world dominion. The so-called awakening of the Orient means the triumph of the yellow European over the true Oriental; it does not lead to victory — but to the destruction of oriental culture. Where in the East the blood of Asia triumphs, with it triumphs the spirit of Europe: the masculine, hard, dynamic, purposeful, energetic of action, rationalistic spirit. In order to participate in progress Asia must exchange its harmonious soul and culture for the European-vital one. — The emancipation of the Asians means their entry into the European-

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American army of work and their mobilization for the technical war. After its victorious conclusion Asia will again be able to be Asian, the woman again

feminine: then Asia and the woman will educate the world to purer harmony. Until then however the Asians must wear the European uniform — the women the masculine one. — CHRISTIANITY AND CHIVALRY

Whoever understands culture as harmony with nature must call our epoch barbaric — whoever understands culture as confrontation with nature must appreciate the specific, masculine-European form of our culture. The Christian-oriental origin of European ethics let it fail to recognize the ethical value of technical progress; only under the perspective of Nietzsche does the heroic-ascetic wrestling of the technical age for redemption through spirit and energy of action appear as good and noble. The virtues of the technical age are above all: energy of action, endurance, bravery, renunciation, self-mastery and solidarity. These qualities steel the soul for the bloodless, hard struggle of social work. — The ethics of work links to the chivalric ethics of struggle: both are masculine, both Nordic. Only this ethics will adapt itself to the new conditions and in place of the obsolete knightly honor set a new work honor. The new concept of honor will rest on work — the new disgrace

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on laziness. The lazy man will be regarded and despised as a deserter of the work front. The objects of the new hero worship will be inventors instead of generals: creators of values instead of destroyers of values. From Christian morality the ethics of work will take over the spirit of pacifism and of socialism: because only peace is productive for technical development — war is destructive, and because only the social spirit of the cooperation of all creators can lead to the technical victory over nature. — THE BUDDHIST DANGER

Every passivistic and life-hostile propaganda that directs itself against the technical and industrial development — is high treason against the work army of Europe: for it is a call to retreat and to desertion during the decisive battle. — Tolstoyans and Neo-Buddhists make themselves guilty of this cultural outrage: they call upon white humanity shortly before its final victory to capitulate before nature, to clear the terrain conquered by technology and voluntarily to return to the primitiveness of agriculture and cattle breeding. Tired of the struggle they want Europe in the future to eke out a poor, childlike existence in its poor nature — instead of through highest tension of spirit, of will and of muscles victoriously to create a new world for itself. What in Europe is still viable and capable of life rejects this cultural suicide: it feels the

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uniqueness of its situation and its responsibility before future humanity. A laying down of arms by technology would throw the world back into the Asian culture cycle. Hard before its goal the technical world revolution that is called Europe would collapse and bury one of the greatest hopes of humanity. The Northland Europe, which lives from its heroic creation, must ward off the enervating spirit of Buddhism. Japan must, the more it industrializes itself, inwardly distance itself from Buddhism; thus Europe, the more it inwardly gives itself to Buddhism, would neglect and betray its technical mission. Buddhism is a wonderful crowning of ripe cultures — but a dangerous poison for becoming cultures. Its

worldview is suited for age, for autumn — as the religion of Nietzsche for youth and spring — the faith of Goethe for the bloom of summer. — Buddhism would stifle technology — and with it the spirit of Europe. — Europe shall remain true to its mission and never deny the roots of its being: heroism and rationalism, Germanic will and Hellenic spirit. For the miracle Europe first arose from the marriage of these two elements. The blind energy of action of the Nordic barbarians became seeing and fruitful through contact with the Mediterranean spirit culture: thus from warriors thinkers, from heroes inventors. The mysticism of Asia threatens Europe's spiritual clarity — the passivism of Asia threatens

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its masculine energy of action. Only if Europe resists these temptations and dangers and remembers its Hellenic and Germanic ideals — will it be able to fight the technical struggle to the end in order one day to redeem itself and the world. —

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IX. STINNES AND KRASSIN ECONOMIC STATES

Stinnes is the leader of the capitalistic economy of Germany — Krassin the leader of the communistic economy of Russia. In the following they apply as exponents of capitalistic and of communistic production, not as personalities. — Since the collapse of the three great European military monarchies there exist in our part of the world only economic states any more: economic problems stand in the center of internal and external politics: Mercury rules the world; as heir of Mars — as forerunner of Apollo. The transformation from the military state to the economic state is the political expression of the fact that in place of the war front the work front has moved into the foreground of history. To the age of war corresponded military states — to the age of work correspond economic states. The communistic as the capitalistic state are work states: no longer

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war states — not yet culture states. Both stand in the sign of production and of technical progress. Both are ruled by producers, as once the military states by military men: the communistic by the leaders of the industrial workers — the capitalistic by the leaders of the industrialists. Capitalism and communism are as essentially related as Catholicism and Protestantism, which for centuries held themselves for extreme opposites and bloodily fought each other with all means. Not their difference but their relatedness is the cause of the bitter hatred with which they persecute each other. As long as capitalists and communists stand on the standpoint that it is permitted and commanded to kill men or to starve them out because they represent other economic principles — both find themselves practically on a very low stage of ethical development. Theoretically of course the presuppositions and goals of communism are more ethical than those of capitalism because they proceed from more objective and more just standpoints. For technical progress however ethical standpoints are not decisive: here the question is decisive whether the capitalistic or the communistic system is more

rational and more suited to carry through the technical war of liberation against the natural forces. — THE RUSSIAN FIASKO

Success speaks for Stinnes, against Krassin: the capitalistic economy blooms while the communistic lies prostrate. To draw from this statement conclusions about the value of the two systems would be simple — but unjust. For it must not be overlooked under what accompanying circumstances communism took over and led the Russian economy: after a military, political and social collapse, after loss of the most important industrial regions, in the struggle against the whole world, under the pressure of years-long blockade, continuous civil war and the passive resistance of the peasants, the burghers and the intelligentsia; to this came still the catastrophic bad harvest. If one takes all these circumstances as well as the lesser organizational talent and education of the Russian people into account — then one can only marvel that remnants of a Russian industry have at all been preserved. To want to measure the failures of five-year communism under these aggravating circumstances against the successes of mature capitalism would be as unjust as to compare a newborn child with a grown man and thereupon to establish that the child is an idiot — while in it, perhaps, a becoming genius slumbers. — Even if communism collapses in Russia, it would be just as naive to declare the social revolution thereby as finished — as it would have been foolish after the collapse of the Hussite movement to hold the Reformation as settled: for after a few decades Luther appeared and led many of the Hussite ideas to victory. —

3. CAPITALISTIC AND COMMUNISTIC PRODUCTION The essential lead of the capitalistic economy lies in its experience. It masters all methods of organization and production, all strategic secrets in the struggle between man and nature and disposes of a staff of trained industrial officers. Communism on the other hand sees itself forced, with an insufficient general staff and officers' corps, to devise new war plans, to try new organization and production methods. Stinnes can press forward on well-worn tracks — while Krassin must be a pathfinder in the primeval forest of the economic revolution. — Through competition, profit and risk capitalism uses an unsurpassable motor that keeps the economic apparatus in constant motion: egoism. Every entrepreneur, inventor, engineer and worker in the capitalistic state sees himself forced to strain his powers to the highest in order not to be overrun by competition and to perish. The soldiers and officers of the work army must advance in order not to come under the wheels. In the free initiative of the enterprise lies a further advantage of capitalism to which technology owes much. One of the most difficult problems of communism lies in the avoidance of economic bureaucratism by which it is constantly threatened. — The technical main advantage of communism lies in the fact that it has the possibility of combining all productive forces and natural treasures of its economic territory and of using them rationally according to a unified plan. Thereby it saves all the forces that capitalism wastes on the warding off of competition. The principled plannedness of the communistic economy, which today undertakes to electrify the Russian giant empire rationally according to a unified plan, means technically a substantial advantage over the capitalistic production anarchy. The communistic work army fights closed under unified

command against the hostile nature — while the splintered work battalions of capitalism not only fight against the common enemy but in part also against one another for the overthrow of the competitors. Krassin moreover has his army more firmly in hand than Stinnes; for the workers of the Stinnes army are clear that a part of their work serves the enrichment of a foreign, hostile entrepreneur — while the workers of the Krassin army are conscious that they work for the communistic state whose participants and supports they are. Stinnes appears to his workers as oppressor and opponent — Krassin as leader and ally. Therefore Krassin can dare to forbid strikes and introduce Sunday work — while this would be impossible for Stinnes. The Stinnes army is undermined by growing discontent and mutiny (strike) — while the Krassin army despite its material need is carried by an ideal goal. In short: the war against the natural forces is in Russia people's war — in Europe and

America a dynastic war of industrial kings. — The work of the communistic worker is a struggle for his state and his form of state — the work of the capitalistic worker a wrestling for his life. Here the main driving force of work is egoism — there political idealism: at the present state of ethics, unfortunately, egoism is a stronger motor than idealism and thus the fighting value of the capitalistic work army greater than that of the communistic one. Communism disposes of a more rational economic plan — capitalism of a stronger work motor. Capitalism will not fail because of its technical but because of its ethical defects. The discontent of the Stinnes army will in the long run not be held down by machine guns. Pure capitalism rests on the dependence and ignorance of the workers — as military cadaver obedience on the dependence and ignorance of the soldiers. The more independent, self-conscious and educated the worker class becomes — the more impossible it will be for private individuals to let them work for their private interests. — The future belongs to Krassin — over the economy of the present the Russian experiment decides. Therefore it lies in the very own interest of the whole world not only not to disturb this experiment but to promote it with all its might: for only then would its outcome be an answer to the question whether communism is capable of reforming today's economy — or whether the necessary evil of capitalism is to be preferred to it. —

MERCENARIES AND SOLDIERS OF WORK

To capitalism in the age of war corresponded the mercenary army — to communism the people's army. In the mercenary time every rich private man could recruit and equip a war army that he paid and commanded — just as today every rich private man can recruit and equip a work army that he pays and commands. Three centuries ago Wallenstein played an analogous role in Germany as today Stinnes: with the help of his fortune that he had increased in the Bohemian war and of the army that he recruited and maintained with the same, Wallenstein rose from a private man to the most powerful personality of the German Reich — as today Stinnes through his fortune that he has increased in the World War as well as through press and work army that he recruits and maintains with the same has become the most powerful man of the German Republic. — In the capitalistic state the worker is mercenary, the entrepreneur condottiere of work — in the communistic state the worker is soldier of a

people's army that is subordinate to state-appointed generals. As then the condottieri with the blood of their mercenaries conquered principalities and founded dynasties — so the modern condottieri

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conquer with the blood of their mercenaries industrial empires and found economic dynasties. — The army of work will one day be a people's army, its generals servants of the state and not of private men. The state will then be the only employer — as it is already today the only general staff. Then the worker will no longer be mercenary of a private man — but soldier of the state. His work will no longer serve private interests — but the common good. He will no longer fight for the profit of a capitalist — but for the power of his fatherland over nature. The state will be his employer, his paymaster, his protector and his leader. The communistic state is already today a state of this kind. Its advantage over the capitalistic lies not in its economic system but in its political system: it is an economic state of the new type — while the capitalistic state is still half military state, half economic state. The advantage of the communistic state is its political homogeneity: it has overcome the dualism of economic and political power, of private and state interests; it is ruled by one will — not, like the capitalistic state, by two. — The future will bring the decision between the two systems of production: between the economic system of Stinnes and that of Krassin.

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conquer with the sweat of their workers riches and positions of power and found plutocrat dynasties. Just as once those mercenary leaders — so today industrial kings negotiate as equal factors with governments and states: they steer politics through their money, as once those through their power. The reform of the work army that communism carries out corresponds in all details to the army form that all modern states have gone through. The army reform has replaced the mercenary armies by people's armies: it has introduced general conscription, nationalized the military system, forbidden private recruitments, replaced the landsknecht leaders by state-appointed officers and glorified conscription ethically. The work state introduces the same reforms in the work army: it proclaims general work duty, nationalizes industry, forbids private enterprises, replaces private entrepreneurs by state-appointed directors and glorifies work as a moral duty. — Stinnes and Krassin are both commanders of mighty work troops that fight against the common enemy: northern nature. Stinnes leads as modern Wallenstein a mercenary army — Krassin as field marshal of a work state a people's army. While these two field marshals hold themselves for opponents, they are allies, march separately, strike united. —

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5. SOCIAL CAPITALISM — LIBERAL COMMUNISM Just as the regeneration of Catholicism was a consequence of the Reformation, so the rivalry of capitalism and communism could fructify both: if they, instead of fighting each other through murder, slander and sabotage, would limit themselves to proving their higher value through cultural achievements. No theoretical justification of capitalism advertises more strongly for this system than the indisputable fact that the lot of the American workers (of whom many drive to the factory in their own auto) is practically better than that of the Russian, who hunger and starve equally with their co-workers. For prosperity is more essential than equality: better that all become well-to-do and few rich — than that general, equal misery prevails. Only envy and pedantry can oppose this judgment. Best of all of course would be universal, general riches — but that lies in the future, not in the present: only technology, not politics, can bring it about. — The American capitalism is conscious that it can maintain itself only through generous social action. It regards itself as administrator of the national riches, which it uses for the promotion of inventions, for cultural and humanitarian purposes. Only a social capitalism that undertakes to reconcile itself with the working class has prospect of permanence: only a liberal communism that undertakes to reconcile itself with the intelligence

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has prospect of permanence. England attempts the first path, Russia recently the second. To wage a war against the resistance of the officers is in the long run just as impossible as against the resistance of the rank and file. That also applies to the work army: it is just as dependent on competent leaders as on willing workers. Krassin has recognized that it is necessary for communism to learn from capitalism. Therefore he recently promotes private initiative, appoints to the leadership of state enterprises energetic and competent engineers with the widest powers and profit participation and calls back a part of the expelled industrialists; finally he supports the weak work motor idealism through egoism, ambition and compulsion and seeks through this mixed system to raise the work performance of the Russian proletariat. Only these capitalistic methods can save communism: for it has learned to recognize that winter and drought are crueler despots of Russia than all the tsars and grand dukes: and that the decisive war of liberation is directed against them. Therefore it today places the fight against famine, the electrification and the reconstruction of industry and the railroad system in the center of its overall policy and even sacrifices to these technical plans a series of political principles. It knows that its economic success or failure will determine the political and that it depends on it whether the Russian revolution finally leads to world redemption — or to world disillusionment. —

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The abolition of private property must at the present state of ethics fail because of insurmountable psychological resistances. Nevertheless communism remains a turning point in the economic development from the entrepreneur to the worker state — and in the political development from the unfruitful system of plutocratic democracy to a new social aristocracy of spiritual men. — TRUST AND TRADE UNIONS

As long as communism proves itself immature to take over the leadership in the technical war of liberation, Krassin and Stinnes will have to come to an understanding. This path, which leads to cooperation instead of to counter-work, the fanatical blockheads of capitalism as of communism will reject: only the brightest heads on both sides will meet in the recognition that it is better to save world culture through a peace of understanding than to destroy it through a war of annihilation. Then from the condottieri of the economy generals will emerge, from mercenaries of the economy soldiers. In the red economy of tomorrow there can be just as little equality between leaders and led as in the red army of today: but the future industrialists will no longer be irresponsible as today but will feel responsible to the community. The unproductive capitalists (speculators) will disappear from economic life just as once the decorative court generals from the

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army. Just as is already frequently the case today, the productive capitalist will have to become the most intensive worker of his factory. Through a simultaneous lowering of his excessive profit a just balance will occur between his work and his income. Two economic power groups begin to share in the leadership of the economy in the capitalistic work states: the representatives of the entrepreneurs and of the workers — trusts and trade unions. Their influence

on politics is growing and will outstrip the parliaments in significance. They will complement and control each other just as once senate and tribunate, upper house and lower house. The subjugation of the natural forces and the conquest of the natural treasures will be led by the trusts — the distribution of the booty will be controlled by the trade unions. On the common ground of the increase of production and the perfection of technology Stinnes and Krassin will meet: for they are opponents in the question of distribution — allies in the question of production: they fight against each other in the question of economic method — with each other in the humanity war against the natural forces. —

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X. FROM THE WORK STATE TO THE CULTURE STATE CHILD CULT

Our epoch is at once the battle epoch of technology and the preparatory epoch of culture. It places before us the double demand: Expansion of the work state. Preparation of the culture state.

The first task places politics in the service of technology — the second in the service of ethics. Only the view of the coming age of culture gives the suffering and fighting humanity of the technical age the strength to continue the struggle with the forces of nature until victory. The extra work that the modern man performs compared with the medieval man is his legacy to the men of the future; through this extra work he accumulates a capital of knowledge, machines and values whose interest his grandchildren will one day enjoy. The division of humanity into lords and slaves, into culture carriers and forced laborers, is also recognized today: but these castes begin to shift from the social into the temporal. We are not

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the slaves of our contemporaries — but of our grandchildren. Instead of a side-by-side existing lord and slave estate our cultural conception sets a successive slave and lord epoch. The work world of today erects the foundations of the culture world of tomorrow. Just as once the culture leisure of the lords was built on the overwork of the slaves — so the culture leisure of the future will be built on the overwork of the present. The present humanity stands in the service of the coming; we sow so that others reap; our age works, researches and wrestles — so that a future world can arise in beauty. Thus in place of the eastern ancestor cult steps a western child cult. It blooms in the capitalistic as in the communistic work state: in America as in Russia. The world kneels before the child as idol, as promise of a more beautiful future. It has become dogma, in all charity to think first of the child. In the capitalistic West the fathers work themselves to death in order to leave their children richer possibilities of life — in the communistic East a whole generation lives and dies in misery in order to secure a happier and more just future for its descendants. The piety of the European age is directed forward. The western child cult is rooted in the belief in development. The European sees in the later the better, higher developed; he believes that his grandchildren will be worthier of freedom than he and his contemporaries: he believes that the world goes forward. While the Oriental sees the present hovering, in

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weight between the past and the future — it appears to the European as a rolling ball that detaches itself ever faster from its past in order to hasten toward an unknown future. The Oriental stands beyond time; the European goes with time: he pushes away the past and embraces his future. His history is a constant reckoning with the past and a pressing toward the future. Because he experiences the forward stride of time with it, standstill means for him retrogression. He lives in the Heraclitean world of becoming — the Oriental in the Parmenidean world of being. Owing to this attitude our age is to be valued only from the perspective of the coming. It is a time of preparation and of struggle, of immaturity and of transition. We are a young generation that strides over the bridge of two worlds and stands at the beginning of an untrodden culture circle: thus we experience our strongest feeling in pressing forward, in growing and fighting — not in peaceful enjoyment of oriental ripeness. Not pleasure is our goal — but freedom; not contemplation is our path — but deed. — DUTY TO WORK

The expansion of the work state is the one cultural duty of our age. The work state is the last stage of man on his way into the culture paradise of the future. To expand the work state means: to place all graspable labor forces of nature and of man in the most rational manner in the service of production and of technical progress. —

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In an epoch that builds on the foundations of coming cultures, no one has a right to leisure. The general duty to work is at once an ethical and a technical duty. An ideal program for the expansion of the work state has been designed by Popper-Lynkeus in his work: “The General Duty to Nourish.” In it he demands that in place of military service a general, obligatory duty of labor service be introduced; this would last several years and place the state in the position to guarantee every one of its members for life a minimum of existence in food, housing, clothing, heating and medical care. This program could break misery and worry and at the same time the dictatorship of the capitalists and proletarians. The class differences would cease through the general duty to work just as through the introduction of general military service in war the opposition between professional soldiers and civilians ceases. — The abolition of the proletariat is however a more desirable ideal than its rule. — The most general compulsory labor is the price that Popper-Lynkeus demands for the elimination of misery and worry. To reduce this compulsory labor through promotion of technology and improvement of organization to a minimum and finally to replace it by voluntary labor — forms the second program point of the work state. The hope that Lenin expresses in “State and Revolution,” that humanity would also after the abolition of compulsory labor continue to work voluntarily, is for the Northlander no utopia. For the restless European and American finds no satisfaction in inactivity; through many-thousand-year compulsion work has become to him a second nature: he needs it in order to exercise his forces and to ban the specter of boredom. His ideal is active, not contemplative. For this reason — not out of greed — the majority of millionaires of the West work on restlessly

instead of enjoying their wealth carefree; for the same reason many employees too regard their pensioning as a stroke of fate because they prefer the accustomed work to the forced idleness. —

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At the present state of technology this voluntary labor would still be insufficient for the banning of need: still much overwork and compulsory labor are necessary in order to clear the way for a beautiful and free labor of the future. This path into the future is cleared by the inventors. Their untiring and quiet creating is more essential and more significant for culture than the loud bustle of the politicians and artists who push themselves into the foreground of the world arena. Modern society is obliged to promote its inventors and their activity in every conceivable way: to them it must grant the preferential position that the Middle Ages granted its monks and priests and thereby offer them the possibility, without worries, to develop their inventions. Just as the inventors are the most important personalities of our epoch, so the industrial workers are its most important estate: for they form the vanguard in the struggle of man for dominion over the earth and beget the creations that are conceived by inventors. —

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3. PRODUCER STATE AND CONSUMER STATE A further duty of the work state is the raising of general prosperity through increase of production. As soon as more foodstuffs are thrown on the market than can be consumed — hunger ceases and the blessed natural state of the breadfruit countries returns on a higher level. Only when a city builds more dwellings than it houses families does it ban the housing shortage that it only alleviates, distributes and shifts through compulsory billeting. Only when as many autos are produced as pocket watches will every worker be an auto owner: not by people's commissars sitting themselves in confiscated autos of bank directors. Only through production, not through confiscation can the prosperity of a people be permanently raised. — In the capitalistic state production is dependent on price formation. When it lies in the interest of price formation the producer is just as resolved to destroy goods as to produce them, to hinder technology as to promote it, to throttle production as to increase it. If technical and cultural development stands in harmony with his interests, he is ready to promote it — if they stand in contradiction to each other, he decides unhesitatingly for gain against technology, production and culture. It lies in the lasting interest of the producers that demand always exceeds supply — while it lies in the interest of the consumers that supply exceeds demand.

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The producer lives from the need of the consumer: the grain producers live from the fact that men hunger; the coal producers live from the fact that men freeze. They have an interest in perpetuating hunger and frost. The grain capital would be resolved to sabotage the invention of a bread substitute — the coal capital the invention of a coal substitute; they would in given cases attempt to buy up the relevant invention and to destroy it. The workers of the relevant branches of production would be solidary with their entrepreneurs in order not to lose work

and income. The industrial entrepreneurs and workers are interested in the price increase of their industrial articles — the farmers and agricultural workers in the price increase of their soil products. As producers the wishes of men diverge — while as consumers all men have the same, common goal: reduction of prices through increase of production. A further abuse of the producer state is advertising. It is a necessary consequence of the competition struggle and consists in the increase of demand through artificial awakening of human covetousness. This display and obtrusion of luxury that awakens covetousness without ever being able to satisfy it — works today as the main cause of general envy, of general discontent and bitterness. No big-city dweller can buy all the displayed goods that blind his eyes in the shop windows: he must therefore always feel poor, measured against these piled-up, displayed riches and pleasures. The psychic devastations that advertising causes can only be eliminated through abolition of competition; the competition struggle again can only be eliminated through a turning away from capitalism. In spite of the magnificent promotion that the technical age owes to capitalism it must not become blind to the dangers that threaten from this side: it must in good time bring a better system to realization that avoids the faults of capitalism. The rival and heir of the capitalistic entrepreneur state, the communistic worker state, takes over a part of the faults of its predecessor: for in it too a producer group rules, it too is a producer state. The culture state of the future on the other hand will be a consumer state: its production will be controlled by the consumers — not, as today, the consumption by the producers. It will not be produced for profit — but for the general welfare and culture: not for the sake of the producers but for the sake of the consumers. It is the future mission of parliament to represent and defend the coinciding interests of all consumers against the diverging interests of the producer groups whose mouthpiece the deputies and parties still are today.

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4. REVOLUTION AND TECHNOLOGY The economic upheaval that is to reshape today's production anarchy of Europe into a new order must never forget its productive mission and must beware of falling into the destructive methods of Russia. For Europe is through its northern location and overpopulation more dependent than any other part of the earth on organized labor and industrial production. It cannot even temporarily live from the alms of its stingy nature; everything it has achieved it owes to the deeds of its work army. The radical disorganization of this through war or anarchy means the cultural death of Europe: for through a temporary standstill of European production at least a hundred million Europeans would have to starve; such a catastrophe Europe, which lacks the power of resistance of Russia, could not survive. — Ethics demands of the coming upheaval of Europe that it spare and sanctify human life —: technology demands of the coming upheaval of Europe that it spare and sanctify human creating. Whoever wantonly kills a man — sins against the holy spirit of the community; whoever wantonly destroys a machine — sins against the holy spirit of labor. This double sin has made itself guilty in the highest degree capitalism in the World War, communism in the Russian Revolution. Both knew neither reverence for human life nor for human creating. If Europe is teachable it can learn from the Russian Revolution which methods it must not

apply; for in it it has a warning example for the significance of technology and for the

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revenge that it takes on its despisers. Russia's rulers imagined that they could redeem their land and the world with ethical goals and military means alone — instead of through labor and technology. They have sacrificed the industry and technology of their land to politics. While they however reached for the stars of equality they lost the ground of production under their feet — and thus plunged into the abyss of misery. In order to save themselves from this abyss in which Russia's peoples are perishing the communist leaders see themselves forced to call their capitalistic mortal enemies to help against the overpowering Russian nature that once shattered Napoleon's great army and today threatens Bolshevism with the same doom. If Europe follows the destructive example of the Russian Revolution it risks, instead of penetrating to a new, post-capitalistic order, sinking back into the primitiveness of pre-capitalistic barbarism and being forced to live through the capitalistic epoch once more. May its spiritual clarity preserve it from this tragic fate: otherwise it will fare like a patient who dies of heart weakness under narcosis — while a genial operation is performed on him. For the heartbeat of Europe is technology: without technology it cannot live — even under the freest constitution. Before one can proceed to the distribution of goods the production of goods must be secured: for what good is equality if all starve? And what harm does inequality do if no one suffers need? The European revolution would have to multiply its production instead of destroying it — enliven its technology instead of destroying it. Only then would it have prospect of success and of lasting realization of its ethical ideals.

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The technical organization and the machine park of Europe form the foundation of its future culture; if Europe attempts to put the political roof on this culture building before its technical foundation walls stand — the building collapses and buries under its ruins the frivolous builders together with the pitiable inhabitants. — DANGERS OF TECHNOLOGY

Where ethical demands lead when they are blind to technical necessities — has been shown by the course of the Russian Revolution; where technical advances lead when they are blind to ethical necessities — has been shown by the course of the World War. Technology without ethics must lead to catastrophes just as ethics without technology. If Europe makes no progress in ethical respect it must stagger from one World War into the next: these will be all the more terrible the higher technology develops in the meantime. Europe's collapse is therefore unavoidable if its ethical progress does not keep pace with the technical. Nevertheless it would be just as ridiculous and cowardly to combat and condemn technology as such because of the possibility of technical culture catastrophes — as it would be ridiculous and cowardly to avoid and proscribe the railroad because of the possibility of railroad accidents.

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While Europe expands the work state it must never forget to prepare the culture state. The carriers of ethical development: teachers and priests, artists and writers — prepare men for the great festival day that is the goal of technology. Their significance is just as great as that of the engineers, chemists, doctors: these shape the body of the coming culture — those the soul. For technology is the body, ethics the soul of culture. Here lies their opposition — here their kinship. — Ethics teaches man the right use of the power and freedom that technology grants him. A misuse of power and freedom is more disastrous for man than powerlessness and unfreedom: through human malice life in the future period of leisure could become still more terrible than in the present period of compulsory labor. It depends on ethics whether technology leads man into hell or into heaven. The machine carries a Janus head: handled with spirit it will be the slave of future man and secure him power, freedom, leisure and culture — handled without spirit the machine will enslave man and rob him of the rest of his power and culture. If it does not succeed in making the machine an organ of man — then man must sink to a component part of the machine. Technology without ethics is practical materialism: it leads to the downfall of the human in man and to his transformation into a machine; it tempts man to externalize himself and to give his soul to things. All technical

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progress however becomes harmful and worthless when man, while he conquers the world, loses his soul: then it would be better if he had remained an animal. Just as among warlike peoples armies and wars were necessary for the preservation of freedom and culture — so in poor and overpopulated parts of the earth labor and technology are necessary for the preservation of life and culture. The army however must remain serviceable to political goals — technology to ethical ones. A technology that emancipates itself from ethics and holds itself for an end in itself is just as disastrous for culture as for a state an army that emancipates itself from politics and holds itself for an end in itself: a leaderless industrialism must tear culture into the abyss just as a leaderless militarism tears the state. Just as the body is an organ of the soul, so technology must submit to ethical leadership; it must beware of falling into the error that art committed with the proclamation of l'art pour l'art; for neither art nor technology nor science nor politics is an end in itself: they all are only paths that lead to man — to the strong, perfected man. — ROMANTICISM OF THE FUTURE

In hard and difficult times longing grows and with it romanticism. Our time too has given birth to a romanticism: everywhere the longing stirs for foreign, more beautiful worlds that are to help us over the gray monotony

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of our workdays. The nursing places of modern romanticism: cinemas, theaters and novels are like windows through which the forced laborers of the European penitentiary can look out into freedom. — Modern romanticism has four main forms: The romanticism of the past that transports us back into more colorful and freer epochs of our history; the romanticism of distance that opens to us the great East and the wild West; the romanticism of the occult that penetrates into the most closed districts of life and of the soul and fills the bleak everyday with

wonders and mysteries; the romanticism of the future that comforts man over the comfortless today through the outlook on a golden tomorrow. Spengler, Keyserling and Steiner come to meet this modern romanticism; Spengler opens to us the cultures of the past — Keyserling the cultures of distance — Steiner the realm of the occult. The great effect that these men exercise on German spiritual life is partly to be traced back to the romantic longing of the heavily tested German people that looks into the past, into distance and to heaven in order to find comfort there. — Into the past, into distance and into the beyond leads imagination — into the future deed. Therefore neither historicism nor orientalism nor occultism works as the actually driving force of our time — but the romanticism of the future: it has given birth to the idea of the future state and thereby the world movement of socialism: it has conceived the idea of the

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superman and thereby introduced the revaluation of values. Marx, the herald of the future state and Nietzsche, the herald of the superman are both romanticists of the future. They place paradise neither in the past — nor in distance — nor in the beyond: but in the future. Marx preaches the coming world empire of labor — Nietzsche the coming world empire of culture. Everything that today concerns itself with the expansion of the work state must take a position toward socialism — everything that today concerns itself with the preparation of the culture state must take a position toward the superman. Marx is the prophet of tomorrow — Nietzsche the prophet of the day after tomorrow. All great social and spiritual events in today's Europe somehow link to the work of these two men: the social and political world revolution stands under the sign of Marx — the ethical and spiritual world revolution stands under the sign of Nietzsche. Without these two men the face of Europe would be different. — Marx and Nietzsche, the heralds of the social and of the individual future ideal, are both Europeans, men, dynamists. From the fixation of their ideals into the future arise will and necessity to realize them through deeds. Their dynamic ideals contain demands: they do not want merely to instruct man but to conquer him; they turn his gaze forward and thus work as remolders of society and of man. In their polarity is mirrored the essence of the European spirit and the future of European fate. — The highest, ultimate ideal of European future-

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romanticism is: not turning away — but return to nature on a higher level. In the service of this ideal stand culture, ethics and technology. After hundreds of thousands of war years man shall again make peace with nature and return home into its realm; but not as its creature — but as its lord. For man stands on the point of overthrowing the constitution of his planet: yesterday it was anarchic, tomorrow it shall be monarchic. One among the billions of creatures reaches for the crown of creation: the free, unfolded man as royal ruler of the earth. —

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PACIFISM 1924 To the dead, living, coming heroes of peace!

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PAGE 157 TEN YEARS OF WAR

The peace that went to pieces ten years ago has not been restored to this day. On the five-year war period followed for Europe a five-year half-war period. In this period fall the Russian-Polish and the Greek-Turkish war, the Ruhr occupation, the struggles in Upper Silesia, Lithuania, West Hungary, Fiume, Corfu, the civil wars in Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, Ireland, Greece, Bulgaria and Albania, the spreading of political murders and of the incitement of peoples, the collapse of currencies and the impoverishment of whole peoples. This worst decade of European history since the migration of peoples forms a worse accusation against war than pacifists could ever bring or can: nevertheless this accused has been punished neither in his freedom nor in his honor nor in his life but lets himself be celebrated everywhere as triumphator, dictates European politics and prepares to fall anew upon the peoples of Europe in order to destroy them definitively. For it is beyond doubt that owing to the advances of war technology, in particular of poison manufacture and of aviation, the next European war would not weaken this part of the earth but destroy it. To this danger that concerns him personally immediately every European must take a position. If it appears to him unavoidable, then as the only logical consequence remains emigration to a foreign

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part of the earth. If it appears to him avertable, then as duty remains the struggle against the danger of war and its carriers: the duty to pacifism. To remain a European is today not only a fate — but also a responsible task on whose solution the future of all and of every individual depends.

Pacifism is today in Europe the only realpolitik. Whoever hopes for salvation from a war gives himself over to romantic illusions. The majority of European politicians seem to recognize this and to wish for peace — and with them the overwhelming majority of Europeans. This fact cannot calm the pacifist who remembers that this was also the case in 1914; even then the majority of statesmen and the majority of Europeans wanted peace: and nevertheless, against their will, war broke out. This outbreak of war occurred through an international coup d'état of the war-friendly minorities against the war-hostile majorities of Europe. This coup d'état, prepared long in advance, seized a favorable occasion, surprised through lies and slogans the unsuspecting peoples whose fate for years remained abandoned to those minorities. Thus came the World War through the resoluteness of the militarists and the weakness of the pacifists. As long as this relation remains a new European war can break out any day. For today as then a small but energetic war minority stands opposite a large but energy-less peace majority; it plays with war instead of stamping it out; it appeases the war inciters instead of overthrowing them and thereby creates the same situation as 1914.

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The pacifism forgets that one wolf is stronger than a thousand sheep — and that the number in politics as in strategy decides only when it is well led and well organized. This is pacifism today as little as ten years ago: had it been this already then, war would not have broken out; were it this today, Europe would be safe from a new war. The powerlessness of pacifism lies today as then in the fact that although very many wish for peace, very few want it; that many fear war — but only few fight it.

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2. CRITIQUE OF PACIFISM The passive war guilt falls on the European pacifism. Its poor leadership, its weakness and characterlessness has encouraged the war inciters to begin the war. The adherents of the peace idea, who in 1914 did not step forward for their ideal in time and not strongly enough, are co-responsible for the outbreak of the war. If however today, after this experience and knowledge, an opponent of war persists in that passivity, he loads an even heavier guilt on himself by indirectly promoting the future war. A rich pacifist who today does not finance peace is half a war inciter. A pacifistically minded journalist who today does not propagate peace — is likewise half a war inciter. A voter who for inner-political motives elects a candidate whose peace will he is not convinced of — thereby signs for himself and his children a half death sentence. The duty of every pacifist is: within the framework of his possibilities to prevent the threatening future war; if he does nothing in this direction, he is either no pacifist or neglects his duty.

The pacifism has learned nothing from the war: it is today essentially the same as in 1914. If it does not recognize its faults and does not transform itself, militarism will in the future also stride over it.

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The main faults of the European pacifism are: The pacifism is unpolitical: among its leaders are too many visionaries, too few politicians. Therefore pacifism frequently builds on illusions, does not reckon with given facts, not with human weakness, unreason and malice: thus it draws false conclusions from false presuppositions. The pacifism is boundless; it does not understand how to limit its goals; it achieves nothing because it wants everything at once. The pacifism is far-sighted; it is reasonable in the goal — but unreasonable in the means. It directs its willing toward the future — and leaves the present to the intrigues of

the militarists. The pacifism is planless: it wants to prevent war without replacing it; its negative goal lacks the positive program of an active world politics. The pacifism is splintered; it has sects, but no church; its groups work isolated, without unified leadership and organization. The pacifism cultivates appendages instead of being the center of political programs; their center is an inner-political attitude, while their pacifism is more tactical than principled. The pacifism is inconsistent; it mostly holds itself ready to step back uncritically before a "higher ideal," that is a clever slogan, as it did in 1914 and would also be ready to do in the future.

The greatest evil of pacifism are the pacifists. The fact that among them are also found the best and most significant men of our time changes nothing in this. These are excepted from the following critique.

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Most pacifists are phantasts who despise politics and its means instead of practicing them; therefore they are, very much to the detriment of their goal, not taken seriously politically. Many pacifists believe they can change the world through preaching — instead of through acting: they compromise political pacifism by permeating it with religious and metaphysical speculations. Mostly the fear of war is the mother of pacifism. If this fear of danger also extends to the rest of the pacifists' life, it prevents them from exposing themselves for the peace idea. The bravery and willingness to sacrifice of the pacifists is rarer than that of the militarists; many recognize the danger of war — but few bring personal or material sacrifices in order to avert it. Instead of fighters — they are shirkers of pacifism who leave the struggle to others, in whose fruits they participate. Many pacifists are gentle natures who not only shun war — but also the struggle against war; their heart is pure, but their will weak and therefore their fighting value illusory. Most pacifists are weak in conviction — like most people; incapable of defying a mass suggestion in the decisive moment — they are pacifists in peace, militarists in war. Only a firm organization, led by a strong will, can durably force them into the service of peace.

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3. RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL PACIFISM The religious pacifism fights war because it is immoral — the political pacifism because it is unprofitable. The religious pacifism sees in war a crime — the political pacifism a stupidity. The religious pacifism wants to abolish war through changing man — the political pacifism wants to prevent war through changing circumstances. — Both forms of pacifism are good and justified: separately they serve human peace and progress; only in their mixing they harm each other more than they benefit each other. On the other hand they should consciously support each other: it is thus self-evident that the political pacifist also uses ethical arguments in order to strengthen the recruiting power of his propaganda; and that the religious pacifist in the decisive case will support pacifist politics — instead of militarist politics.

In its methods however practical pacifism must emancipate itself from ethical pacifism: otherwise it remains incapable of successfully leading the struggle

against militarism. In politics the Machiavellian methods of militarism have proven themselves better than

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the Tolstoyan methods of pacifism, which therefore had to capitulate in 1914 and 1919. If in the future pacifism wants to win, it must learn from its opponents and pursue its Tolstoyan goals with Machiavellian means: it must learn from robbers how one deals with robbers. For whoever among robbers in the sense of non-violence throws away his weapon, thereby only helps the robbers, only violence, only injustice. Therefore the political pacifist must acknowledge the fact that in day-to-day politics non-violence is not equal to violence; that only he can renounce violence who, like once Christianity, reckons with centuries. But Europe cannot do that: if peace does not win here soon, in 300 years only Chinese archaeologists will still disturb its churchyard peace. It is therefore not enough that European peace wins: if it does not win soon, its victory is illusory.

Whoever wants to play a game successfully must submit to the rules of the game. The rules of the game of politics are: cunning and violence. If pacifism wants to intervene practically in politics, it must use these means to fight militarism. Only after its victory could it change the rules of the game and set right in the place of power. As long however as in politics power precedes right, pacifism must support itself on power. If it leaves power to the friends of war while it itself supports itself only on its good right — then it promotes, out of principle-riding, only the future war. A politician who does not want to use violence resembles a surgeon who does not want to cut: here as there it comes down to finding the right measure between too much and too little: otherwise the patient dies instead of recovering.

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4. REFORM OF PACIFISM The new time demands a new pacifism. Statesmen shall stand at its head instead of dreamers; fighters shall fill its ranks instead of grumblers! Only a state-wise pacifism can convince the masses — only a heroic pacifism can sweep them away! The new pacifists shall be optimists of willing — but pessimists of knowledge. They shall neither overlook nor exaggerate the dangers that threaten peace — but: fight them. The assertion: “A new war is impossible.” is just as false as the assertion: “A new war is unavoidable.” Whether the possibility of war will transform itself into war reality or not depends in the first line on the energy of action and circumspection of the pacifists. For war and peace are no natural events — but human work. Therefore the pacifist must take the following standpoint toward peace: “The peace is threatened;
The peace is possible;
The peace is desirable:
Let us therefore create the peace!”

The new pacifism must limit its goals in order to reach them and demand only what it is resolved to enforce. For the realm of peace can only be conquered step by step and one

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step forward in reality is worth more than a thousand steps in phantasy. Boundless programs only attract phantasts — while they repel politicians: a politician however can do more for peace than a thousand phantasts!

The pacifists of all nations, parties and worldviews must in international politics form a phalanx with unified leadership and common symbols. A fusion of so many diverging groups is impossible and inexpedient — but their cooperation is possible and necessary. The pacifism must demand from every politician clarity about his position toward war and peace. In this question of life every voter has a right to know exactly the standpoint of his candidate, to know under which precise circumstances this one would vote for war and which means he wants to use in order to prevent war. Only if the voters in this way intervene in foreign politics instead of letting themselves be fobbed off as hitherto with phrases and slogans — could the parliaments become mirror images of the peace will that animates the masses of workers, peasants and citizens of all nations.

The new pacifism must above all also reform the pacifists. The pacifism can only win if the pacifists are ready, in the struggle for peace, to bring sacrifices in honor, money and life; if the financially powerful pacifists pay — the energetically powerful act. As long as the masses see in the militarists, who daily are ready to give their life for their ideal, heroes

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— but in the pacifists weaklings and cowards, the enthusiasm for war will be stronger than the enthusiasm for peace. For the power of conviction lies in the things — the power of enthusiasm however in the people. This power to enthuse will be all the stronger the more the pacifists become fighters, apostles, heroes and martyrs of their idea — instead of its advocates and profiteers. —

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5. WORLD PEACE AND EUROPE-PEACE The goals of religious pacifism are absolute and simple — the goals of political pacifism relative and manifold. Every political problem demands a special position of pacifism. There are three main types of war: the offensive, defensive and liberation war. All pacifists are opponents of the war of conquest; the path to its combating is clearly outlined: mutual insurance of states for the common defense of the peace breaker. Such an organization, as the League of Nations today plans in the guarantee pact, will in the future protect the peoples from wars of conquest and at the same time spare them individual defensive actions. Much more difficult is the problem of the liberation war. For this is in form an offensive war — in essence however a defensive war against a petrified conquest. A pacifism that makes liberation wars impossible thereby takes the side of the oppressors. On the other hand the international legitimation of the liberation war would be a blank check for wars of conquest. For the liberation of oppressed peoples and classes forms the favorite pretext of all wars of conquest; and since everywhere there are peoples, splinters of peoples, races and classes that feel oppressed or really are, today a pacifism that permits the liberation war would be practically illusory.

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Two theories thus confront each other here: the conservative pacifism of saturated peoples whose goal is the combating of every peace breaker, the preservation of the status quo and of the present relations of rule — and the revolutionary pacifism whose goal is a last world war for the liberation of all oppressed classes, peoples and races and thereby the annihilation of every future cause of war and the founding of the pacifist world republic. The conservative pacifism has its center in the Geneva League of Nations — the revolutionary in the Moscow International.

The Geneva pacifism wants today to preserve peace without eliminating the conflict materials that threaten to lead to a future war; the Moscow pacifism wants to accelerate the international explosion in order to erect at least for the future a secured realm of peace. It is to be feared that Geneva will be too weak to preserve peace — and Moscow too weak to erect it. Therefore both tendencies in their radicalism threaten world peace. A partial way out of this dilemma is an evolutionary pacifism whose goal is a step-by-step dismantling of national and social oppression while simultaneously maintaining peace. This pacifism, which leads like a narrow rope over a double abyss, demands the highest political skill of the leaders and a great political understanding of the peoples. Nevertheless it must be attempted by all who honestly want peace.

The two most difficult peace problems of the future are: the Indian and the Australian problem. In the Indian question (which is a special

case of the general colonial question) the will of the Indian cultural nation to political independence and the will of Great Britain to keep it in its state association confront each other seemingly irreconcilably. This situation incites the Asiatic (and half-Asiatic) peoples to one day unite with India for a great liberation struggle. The Australian question (which is a special case of the Pacific immigration question) turns on the exclusion of the Mongols from the Anglo-Saxon settlement areas. The strong population increase of the Mongols stands in no relation to their lack of settlement areas and threatens one day to lead to an explosion in the Pacific Ocean if no vent is opened to them. On the other hand the white Australians know that an admission of the Mongols would within a short time push them into the minority. What solution this problem will find when one day China is as armed as Japan is undetermined. The peaceful solution of these world problems forms a very difficult task of the British, Asiatic and Australian pacifists. The European pacifists however must clearly recognize that a warlike solution of these questions is more probable than a peaceful one, that they however lack the power and the influence to prevent these threatening wars.

This knowledge clarifies the mission of the European pacifism: it does not have the power to pacify the globe — but it does have the power to bestow lasting peace on Europe by solving the European question and protecting its continent from becoming involved in those Asiatic and Pacific future conflicts. Consequently the political pacifism of Europe must limit its goals and learn to distinguish what it can only wish — and what it can also reach. Without overstraining its forces it must first wrestle in its own continent for lasting peace

and leave it to the Americans, British, Russians and Asiatics to preserve peace in the world parts allotted to them. In this all pacifists of the world must however remain in constant contact with one another, since many problems (above all disarmament) can only be solved internationally, and since the international pacifism must attempt to avoid and settle conflicts between those world complexes. In relation to those East-Asiatic dangers of war the European peace problems are relatively easy to solve. No insurmountable obstacle stands in the way of European peace. In a European war no one could gain anything — but all lose everything. The victor would emerge from this mass murder deadly wounded — the vanquished annihilated.

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Therefore a new European war could only arise through a crime of the militarists, through the carelessness of the pacifists and the stupidity of the politicians. It can be prevented if in every country the war inciters are held in check, the pacifists fulfill their duty and the statesmen guard the interests of their peoples.

The securing of peace in Europe, which today has become the Balkans of the world, forms an essential step forward toward world peace. As the World War took its departure from Europe — so perhaps also world peace could one day take its departure from Europe. In no case is world peace to be thought of before the European peace is anchored in a stable system.

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6. REALPOLITICAL PEACE PROGRAM The European danger of war divides itself into two groups: the first is grounded in national oppression — the second in social. Today the border questions and the Russian question threaten European peace. — The essence of the border question is that most European states and peoples are dissatisfied with their present borders since they do not correspond to the national, economic or strategic demands of the nationalists. A peaceful change of the present borders is impossible at their present significance: therefore the nationalists of those dissatisfied states prepare a violent border change through a new war and force their neighbors to armaments. The Russian question today roots in the fact that at the open eastern border of Europe stands a world power whose leaders acknowledge as their goal to violently overthrow the existing system in Europe. In order to reach this goal they support the social irredenta of Europe with money and soon hope to be in the position to be able to send Soviet troops after these propaganda moneys at the outbreak of the European revolution. For principled reasons Russia is an opponent of today's pacifism, acknowledges militaristic methods and organizes a strong army in order with its help to change the world map, at least in Europe

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and Asia, thoroughly. As soon as this army is strong enough it will undoubtedly march against the West.

These two problems, which meet at individual points (Bessarabia, East Galicia), daily threaten the peace of Europe. Every European pacifist must come to terms

with them and attempt to avert them. The Pan-Europe program *) is the only way to prevent these two threatening wars with realpolitical means and to secure European peace. Its goal is: Securing of inner-European peace through Pan-European arbitration treaty, guarantee pact, customs union and minority protection.
Securing of peace with Russia through a Pan-European defensive alliance, through mutual recognition, non-interference and border guarantee, common disarmament and economic cooperation, as well as through dismantling of social oppression.
Securing of peace with Britain, America and East Asia through obligatory arbitration treaties and regional League of Nations reform.

The Pan-Europe program is the only possible solution of the European border problem. For the irreconcilability of all national aspirations as well as the tension between the geographically-strategic, historically-economic and national borders in Europe makes a just border leadership impossible. A change of the borders would *) See: "Pan-Europe" by R. N. Coudenhove-Kalergi (Pan-Europa-Verlag, Vienna).

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eliminate old injustices but set new ones in their place. Therefore a solution of the European border problem is only possible through its elimination. The two elements of this solution are: A. The conservative element of the territorial status quo that stabilizes the existing borders and thus prevents the threatening war; B. the revolutionary element of the gradual elimination of the borders in strategic, economic and national respects that destroys the germs of future wars. This securing of the borders, combined with their dismantling, preserves the formal division of Europe while it changes its essence. Thus it secures at once the present and future peace, the economic and the national unfolding of Europe.

The other European danger of war is the Russian one. The Russian militarization springs on the one hand from the fear of an anti-Bolshevist invasion supported by Europe — on the other hand from the will to conduct in the sign of social liberation an offensive war against Europe. Therefore it must be the goal of European pacifism to secure Russia at once from a European and Europe from a Russian attack. The first is only possible through honest peace will — the second through military superiority. This military superiority Europe can reach immediately without increase of its armaments through a Pan-European defensive alliance. The European pacifism however must not let this military superiority degenerate into an arms race

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but must make it the basis of a Russian-European disarmament and understanding.

Europe does not have the possibility to change the political attitude of the Russian rulers whose system is expansive. Since it cannot persuade them to peace, it must force them to peace. If one neighbor is peacefully oriented, the other warlike, pacifism demands that the military superiority stand on the side

of peace. A reversal of this relation means war. It is a delusion of many pacifists to see in their own arms limitation the sure path to peace. Under circumstances peace demands disarmament — under other circumstances however armament. If for example England and Belgium had had strong armies in 1914, the English mediation proposal immediately before the catastrophe would have had more prospect of acceptance. If today for example a people out of pacifism professes war service refusal while its neighbor lies in wait for the opportunity to attack it, it promotes not peace but war. If another people for the securing of its peace increases its armaments and thereby provokes a peaceful neighbor to an arms race — it also promotes not peace but war. Every peace problem demands an individual treatment. Therefore Europe today cannot apply the same peace methods toward England and Russia. The peace with England whose politics is stable and pacifistic can be supported on treaties — the peace with Russia which finds itself in a revolution and does not deny its war plans against the European system requires military securities.

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It would be just as unpolitical and unpacifistic to rely on treaties toward the Soviets — as on the fleet toward England. On the other hand the European pacifism must at any time be ready to confront a pacifistic Russia that disarms and honestly renounces its intervention plans just as the pacifistic England.

Europe's pacifists however must never forget that Russia arms in the name of social liberation and that millions of Europeans would regard a Russian invasion as a liberation war. This war will be all the more threatening the more this conviction spreads in the masses of Europe. As the national dangers of war can durably only be banned through a dismantling of national oppression, this social danger of war can only be banned through dismantling of social oppression. The social irredenta of Europe will only then fall away from the Moscow International when it is given the practical proof that the situation and the future of the working class in the democratic countries is better than in the Soviet ones. If communism succeeds in the counter-proof, no foreign politics can preserve Europe from the revolution and the joining with Soviet Russia.

Here the close connection between inner and foreign politics, between freedom and peace shows itself. Since every oppression, whether it now be national or social, bears in itself the germ of a war, the struggle against oppression forms an essential component of the struggle for peace.

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Every oppression forces the oppressors to the maintenance of a military power, the oppressed and their allies however to war incitement. Conversely a war and armament politics gives the state power holders the strongest instrument for inner-political oppression into the hand: the army. Therefore the European and the world peace will only then be durably secured when the religions, nations and classes cease to feel themselves oppressed. That is the reason why peaceful foreign politics goes hand in hand with liberal inner politics — war politics outward however with oppression inward.

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7. PROMOTION OF THE PEACE IDEA Besides fighting for its foreign-political peace program, the pacifist shall not miss any opportunity to promote international cooperation and understanding. This determines the attitude of pacifism toward the League of Nations. The present League of Nations is as a peace institution very imperfect; it is, above all, heavily burdened by the inheritance of the war that gave it birth. It is weak, unorganized, unreliable; moreover it is a torso as long as the United States, Germany and Russia remain distant from it. Nevertheless the Geneva League of Nations is the first draft of an international organization of states of the world that is to take the place of the previous state anarchy. It has the immeasurable advantage of existence compared to all better institutions that are only projects. Therefore every pacifist must support the weak, fragile, embryonic League of Nations: he shall criticize it — but not fight it; work on its reshaping — but not on its destruction. * Every pacifist shall contribute to eliminating the stupid national hatred that harms all and benefits none. He can do this best through dissemination of truth and through combating malicious and uneducated incitement of peoples.

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For one main cause of national hatred is that the peoples do not know one another and, according to the utterances of a chauvinistic press and literature, see one another only in caricatures. In order to combat these distortions, pacifism shall create an enlightening popular literature, promote translations, as well as the exchange of professors, teachers, students and children. Through international agreement the chauvinistic incitement against foreign nations in school and press shall be ruthlessly combated. In order to promote the peace idea and to combat the war incitement, peace ministries should arise in all states that, in constant contact with one another and with all pacifist organizations at home and abroad, serve international reconciliation. * One of the most essential tasks of pacifism is the introduction of an international language of understanding. For before the peoples can talk with one another, it is difficult to demand of them that they understand one another. An international language of intercourse would have the purpose that at home every human being speaks his mother tongue, while in intercourse with members of foreign nations he makes use of the language of understanding. Thus every human being who leaves his homeland would need to master only this one language of understanding, whereas today he needs several languages abroad. As international language of intercourse only Esperanto and English come into question. Which of these two

languages is chosen for international intercourse is immaterial beside the demand that the world agree on one of these two languages.

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The English language has over Esperanto the great advantage that it has already assumed the role of an international language of intercourse in Australia, in half Asia, Africa and America as well as in large parts of Europe, so that in these areas its official introduction would only be the sanction of an existing practice. Added to this is the fact that in its intermediate position between the Germanic and Romance languages it is easily learnable for Germans as for Romance peoples, likewise for Slavs who already master a Germanic or Romance language. Moreover English is the language of the two most powerful empires of the earth and the most widespread mother tongue of the white humanity. The introduction of the international auxiliary language could occur through a proposal of the League of Nations to introduce it first obligatorily in all secondary schools and teacher training institutes of the world and after a decade also in the elementary schools. * The dissemination of enlightenment and the struggle against human ignorance contain faster prospects of success for peace propaganda than the dissemination of humanity and the struggle against malice. For human convictions change faster than human instincts. And the peace movement would not at all need, at least in Europe, to appeal to the human heart — if it could rely somewhat on human understanding. Just as enlightenment has finished with witch burnings, torture and slavery — so one day it will also finish with war, that remnant from a barbaric age of humanity.

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When this will happen is undetermined; that it will happen is determined. The tempo depends on the pacifists. That human beings have finally learned to fly after hundreds of thousands of years was much more wonderful and improbable than that one day they will learn to live in peace with one another. —

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8. PEACE PROPAGANDA Peace propaganda is the necessary supplement to peace politics: for pacifist politics is short-term — pacifist propaganda long-term. Peace propaganda alone is incapable of preventing the immediately threatening war, since it requires at least two generations for its effect; peace politics alone is incapable of securing lasting peace, since given the rapid development of our age the sphere of action of politics barely extends beyond two generations. Peace politics can at best through great skill create a pacifist provisional arrangement in order in the meantime to offer peace propaganda the possibility of morally disarming the peoples and convincing them that war is a barbaric, impractical and obsolete means for settling international differences. For as long as this insight has not internationally prevailed and as long as there are peoples that regard war as the most suitable means for enforcing their political goals, peace cannot support itself on disarmament but only on the military superiority of the pacifists. Complete disarmament is only possible after the victory of the peace idea — just as the abolition of the police would only be possible after the extinction of criminality: otherwise the abolition of the police leads to the dictatorship of crime —

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the abolition of the army to the dictatorship of war. * The pacifist propaganda directs itself against the war instincts, war interests and war ideals. The struggle against the war instincts must be conducted through their weakening and diversion as well as through strengthening of the counter-instincts. Above all it is necessary to wean the peoples from war and thereby let their war instincts die out, just as smokers, drinkers and morphinists lay aside their inclinations through their non-exercise. The means for war weaning is peace politics. Sport is very suited to divert the human, especially the masculine, combat instincts from the war attitude. It is no coincidence that the most sport-loving peoples of Europe (English, Scandinavians) are at the same time the most peaceful. Only hunting forms an exception here: it conserves the most primitive form of combat and strengthens the murder instincts instead of diverting them. It has contributed much to the preservation of European militarism that in many European countries hunting was the main sport of the ruling castes and men: for hunting easily educates to disregard of foreign life and dulls against bloodshed. * The condemnation of war must never degenerate into a condemnation of struggle. Such a derailment of pacifism would only play striking counter-arguments into the hands of the militarists and ethically and biologically compromise pacifism. For struggle and the will to struggle are creators and preservers of human culture. The end of

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struggle and the dying out of the human combat instincts would be identical with the end and dying out of culture and of man. Struggle is good; only war is bad because it is a primitive, crude and obsolete form of international struggle — just as the duel is a primitive, crude and obsolete form of social struggle. The goal of pacifism is therefore not the abolition of struggle but the refinement, sublimation and modernization of its methods. * Today the economic form of struggle is in the process of replacing the military: boycott and blockade take the place of war, the political strike takes the place of revolution. China has with the weapon of boycott won several political battles against Japan and Gandhi attempts to conduct the Indian liberation struggle through this bloodless method. A time will come in which national rivalry will be fought out instead of with knives and lead bullets with spiritual weapons. Instead of arming competitively, the peoples will then compete with one another in scientific, artistic and technical achievements, in justice and social welfare, in public health and public education and in the production of great personalities. * The second task of peace propaganda is the struggle against the war interests. This propaganda consists in demonstrating to the peoples and individuals the small chances of gain and the enormous risk of loss with the result that war has presently PAGE

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become a bad, risky and unprofitable business. As far as the peoples are concerned, Norman Angell*) has already before the war furnished this proof and the World War has brilliantly confirmed his thesis. Whether from the national standpoint a victorious liberation war of India or a conquest of Australia by the Mongols would outweigh the sacrifices may remain undiscussed here: it is

however certain that in a new European war the victor, in political, economic and national respects, would emerge from the struggle heavily damaged, while the vanquished people would be destroyed forever. The possible gain stands in no relation to the certain losses. * Personally interested in war are only ambitious politicians and military men on the one hand, who hope for fame — and greedy war suppliers on the other, who hope for business. These groups are very small but very powerful. The first group can in democratic states be cold-shouldered by a resolute pacifism: politicians who place their ambition above the welfare of their peoples shall be treated as criminals. Of the officers it is often claimed that their warlike attitude is professional duty. In states whose politics is pacifistic this would be a grave error; for there the army is not regarded as a means of conquest but as a necessary weapon against foreign war will. It would therefore be necessary that precisely the officers be educated to be pacifists, but to heroic pacifists who at any time are ready to stake their life for the preservation of peace and feel themselves as crusaders in the struggle against war. *) “The False Calculation” by Norman Angell.

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The industrialists who long for war because of the war profits shall be referred to the fact that at the outcome of the next European war Bolshevism probably stands. They therefore expect with a probability of over 50% at the end of the war expropriation, if not the gallows. The war business loses through this prospect its charm. For it appears after all more advantageous for industry to content itself with the relatively modest but safe peace profits instead of reaching for the fat but life-threatening war profits. This argumentation is important because it deprives war propaganda of its golden motor and leads it to peace propaganda. * Peace propaganda must also mobilize the human imagination against the future war. It must enlighten the masses about the dangers and horrors that threaten them in the event of war: about the new rays and gases that can murder entire cities; about the threatening war of extermination that would direct itself less against the front than against the hinterland; about the political and economic consequences that such a war would entail for victor and vanquished. This propaganda must help the weak human memory and the weak human imagination: for if human beings had more imagination — there would no longer be any war. The will to live would be the strongest ally of pacifism. * The war instincts are crude and primitive — the war interests problematic and dangerous — the war ideals mendacious and obsolete.

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They live from the falsification that identifies war with struggle, warriors with heroes, lack of imagination with bravery, fear with cowardice. They stem from a sunken epoch, from overcome circumstances. They were once coined by a warrior caste and uncritically adopted by free peoples. Once the warrior was the guardian of culture, the war hero the hero as such, war the life element of the peoples whose fate was decided by their bravery in the field. Since then war has become unknightly, its methods common, its forms ugly; personal bravery is no longer decisive: in the place of the knightly beauty of a mass tournament has stepped the wretched ugliness of a mass slaughterhouse. The mechanized war of

today has forever lost its former romanticism. From the ethical standpoint the defensive war is organized self-defense — the war of aggression organized murder. Still worse: peaceful human beings are violently forced to poison and tear to pieces other peaceful human beings. The guilt for this instigated mass murder falls not on the executors but on the instigators. These instigators are in democratic states directly the war-friendly deputies, indirectly their voters. Whoever therefore shuns committing a murder shall consider well whom he sends as his trustee into parliament!

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9. NEW HEROISM The renewal of the hero ideal through pacifism smashes the main weapon of militarist propaganda. For nothing gives militarism a stronger recruiting power than the monopolization of heroism. Pacifism would commit suicide through a struggle against the hero ideal; it would thereby lose all its valuable adherents: for reverence for heroism is the measure of human nobility. Pacifism shall compete with militarism in hero worship and attempt to surpass it in heroism. But at the same time it shall free the hero concept from its medieval shell and fill it with the entire content of a modern ethics. The insight must prevail that the heroism of Christ represents a higher developmental form than the heroism of Achilles — and that the physical heroes of the past are only forerunners of the moral heroes of the future. * No honest pacifist will attempt to dispute the heroism from the men who beyond conscription staked their life at the front for their ideals; who voluntarily postponed their family happiness, their comfort, their security and health in order to fulfill their duty. Their heroism is not touched by the question whether they proceeded from false or correct presuppositions. Nothing would be more common than the derision of this heroism. The opposite pole to these heroes is formed by those demagogues who in offices, assemblies, editorial rooms and parliaments incited to war and incite in order then, far from the front, to commit the lowest abuse with foreign heroism. The attempt of many militarists to monopolize heroism for the war party is just as dishonest as the attempt of many nationalists to monopolize the national feeling for their party.

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For whoever wants to preserve his people from the greatest catastrophe in world history is at least as patriotic as the one who hopes to lead it to new power through a victorious war: only this one builds on error, that one on truth. There are today many countries in Europe in which it is more life-threatening to stand up for peace than for war: in these countries the peace apostles prove a greater heroism than the war apostles. * The heaviest and most unjust insult for a people however is when a class, namely the officer class, monopolizes the hero character for itself: for there is heroism in every profession, quiet and great heroism, without fame, without romanticism and without a glittering facade: the heroism of work and of the spirit, the heroism of motherhood, the heroism of conviction. And whoever studies the biographies of the great artists, thinkers, researchers, inventors and doctors will learn to understand that there is also other heroism than that of the warriors and adventurers. * Every one is a hero who sacrifices his private interest to his ideal: the greater the sacrifice, the greater the heroism. Whoever is not afraid is not heroic but only unimaginative.

Only he acts heroically who overcomes fear for the sake of his ideals. The greater his fear is — the greater his overcoming and his heroism.

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Europe has freed itself from the rule of feudalism — but not from the rule of feudal values. Thereby the hero ideal has become as untimely and rotten as the concept of honor. Only a renewal can save them. The honor of a human being and of a people shall be independent of foreign actions and determined solely by its own deeds. The principle must prevail that the honor of a nation can never be injured by the fact that its flag is torn down somewhere by drunkards: but only by the fact that its judges are partial, its officials corrupt, its statesmen perjured; that it banishes or murders its best sons, provokes weaker neighbors, oppresses minorities, neglects its obligations and breaks treaties. Through this new code of honor all disputes that divide peoples over questions of honor and drive them into wars will cease of themselves: for then every people will regard it as its duty of honor to give satisfaction to another — not to preserve the other's honor but its own national honor. The form of this satisfaction will then be easily determinable by arbitration courts. —

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Pacifism must educate the present and the coming generation to the heroism of conviction. Lie and cowardice of conviction were partly to blame for the outbreak of the war, they have nourished and preserved it in order finally to imprint their stamp also on peace. Therefore the struggle against the lie is also a struggle against war. The heroism of peace will be a heroism of disposition, of conviction, of self-control; only then can it triumph over the heroism of the militarists. This heroism of peace is more difficult and rarer than that of war. It is harder to command one's passions than one's troops; harder to discipline one's own character than an army of recruits. And many who without hesitation could thrust a bayonet into an enemy's body do not find the courage to confess their conviction to a friend. This moral cowardice is the breeding ground of all demagogy, also of the militaristic: out of fear of appearing cowardly millions today deny their inner pacifism; they prefer to be cowardly than to be regarded as cowardly. The victory of the peace idea is therefore intimately connected with the victory of moral heroism that is ready to sacrifice everything rather than the conviction and to keep itself pure against all attempts at persuasion, extortion and bribery of an impure time. * Such peace heroes shall pacifism first organize in all European countries into a voluntary army of peace. This peace army shall recruit itself from heroes who reject war as a barbaric and senseless means of politics and as an enemy of humanity

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and at any time are ready to bring every sacrifice for their pacifist faith. First these fighters of peace shall as propagandists and agitators of their idea gather the millions around them who wish for peace. The peace army must however also be ready, in the decisive moment of danger, to march against war and to save peace through its energetic intervention. At the head of this peace army shall stand men who combine statesmanlike insight with an unbending and

unshakable will to peace. Only if such leaders stand at the head of such fighters may Europe hope never again to be overrun and trampled by a war.